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October 23, 1962

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Our Image Abroad and Some Reflections on Envy

PRAKASH C. JAIN
JAMES RORTY
GEOFFREY WAGNER

What Gore Vidal Doesn't Know About Church-State

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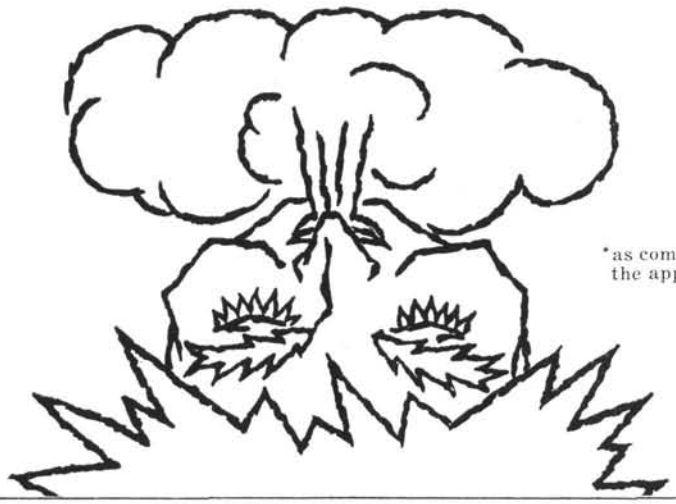

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CONTENTS OCTOBER 23, 1962 VOL. XIII, NO. 16

THE WEEK 297

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

The Mess in Mississippi .....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 304
From Washington Straight .....*Cato* 305
Is Cuba a Threat? .....*James Burnham* 306
What Are Our Propagandists Up To?
Prakash C. Jain, James Rorty 307
This Year at Mont Pelerin .....*Lawrence Fertig* 311
The "Enigmatic" General ..*E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn* 312
Some Reflections on Envy .....*Geoffrey Wagner* 313
The "Separation" of Church and State
Will Herberg 315
Whose Opinion is World Opinion? .....*J. D. Futch* 316
Little Shops and Socialist Capitalism ..*Russell Kirk* 317
To the Editor 327

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

Learned Lemming of Appeasement
Edgar Ansel Mowrer 318
The Most Dangerous Man .....*Garry Wills* 319
Portrait of the UN as Warmaker
Maurice N. Hennessy 320
Literati vs. Cognoscenti .....*Theodore Sturgeon* 321
60,000,000 Westerners Can't Be Wrong
William F. Rickenbacker 322
Books in Brief 325

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In This Issue . . .

➔ we tender two complaints against the ineffectiveness of United States propaganda abroad, one by a prominent Indian anti-Communist who has appeared before in NATIONAL REVIEW, Mr. **Prakash C. Jain,** another from a prominent American journalist, Mr. **James Rorty,** who worked for the Voice of America for several years. Mr. Jain, who has written eloquently on the decline of American prestige in England, wonders why our information services are so reluctant to publicize Communist venalities, the supply of which, after all, is inexhaustible. And Mr. Rorty, a free-lance journalist whose work is well-known to everyone who reads the highbrow press, wonders why we have no policy of bringing the truth to the Russians themselves . . . . **Geoffrey Wagner,** completing the triangle, examines the attitude of Europeans toward the United States—We are *so* Vulgah—in the light of the Europeans' paroxysmal fascination with Elvis Presley, etc. Mr. Wagner is himself English, a scholar, critic and author of any number of discerning books.

➔ **Lawrence Fertig** is a retired advertising executive and a lay economist who writes a regular column for the *New York World Telegram.* His recent book, *Prosperity Through Freedom,* continues to sell busily, carrying forward the brazen thesis that each of us knows better than Washington, D. C., what each of us wants. Mr. Fertig is just back from the annual meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society, and reports on that prestigious, mysterious society where—can you believe it?—people come together to plot to leave people alone! . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** is in America, and will lecture sixty times in 59 days. He wrote the column on Controversial Charlie just before leaving France, bringing his great knowledge and vast insight to bear on the inscrutable general . . . . Professor **Will Herberg** tuned his television set a couple of weeks ago and heard such a lot of japery by Gore Vidal on the subject of Church & State that he ran, not walked, to his typewriter, to set the record straight, which takes a lot of setting after Mr. Vidal talks out on political history. "It isn't only what he doesn't know," Freud complained about Havelock Ellis, "It's what he knows that isn't so." . . . **J. D. Futch,** newly doctored and off professing history, bites into the canard of World Opinion, and comes up with a scientific conclusion: World Opinion is Chester Bowles—pure and simple.

➔ Our book reviewers are deservedly well-known. **Edgar Ansel Mowrer,** the distinguished writer and political analyst, devastates the latest from "Red Fred" Schuman, as the boys on campus affectionately call him. . . . **Garry Wills** writes a review of Cardinal Newman that Newman would be proud of. . . . **Maurice N. Hennessy** is an old Africa hand, who reviews the exciting book on Katanga by Smith Hempstone. . . . **Theodore Sturgeon,** replete with prizes for his own work on science fiction, reviews two new SF's. . . . And **William Rickenbacker** nominates Mat Basterson for Secretary of State. ➔

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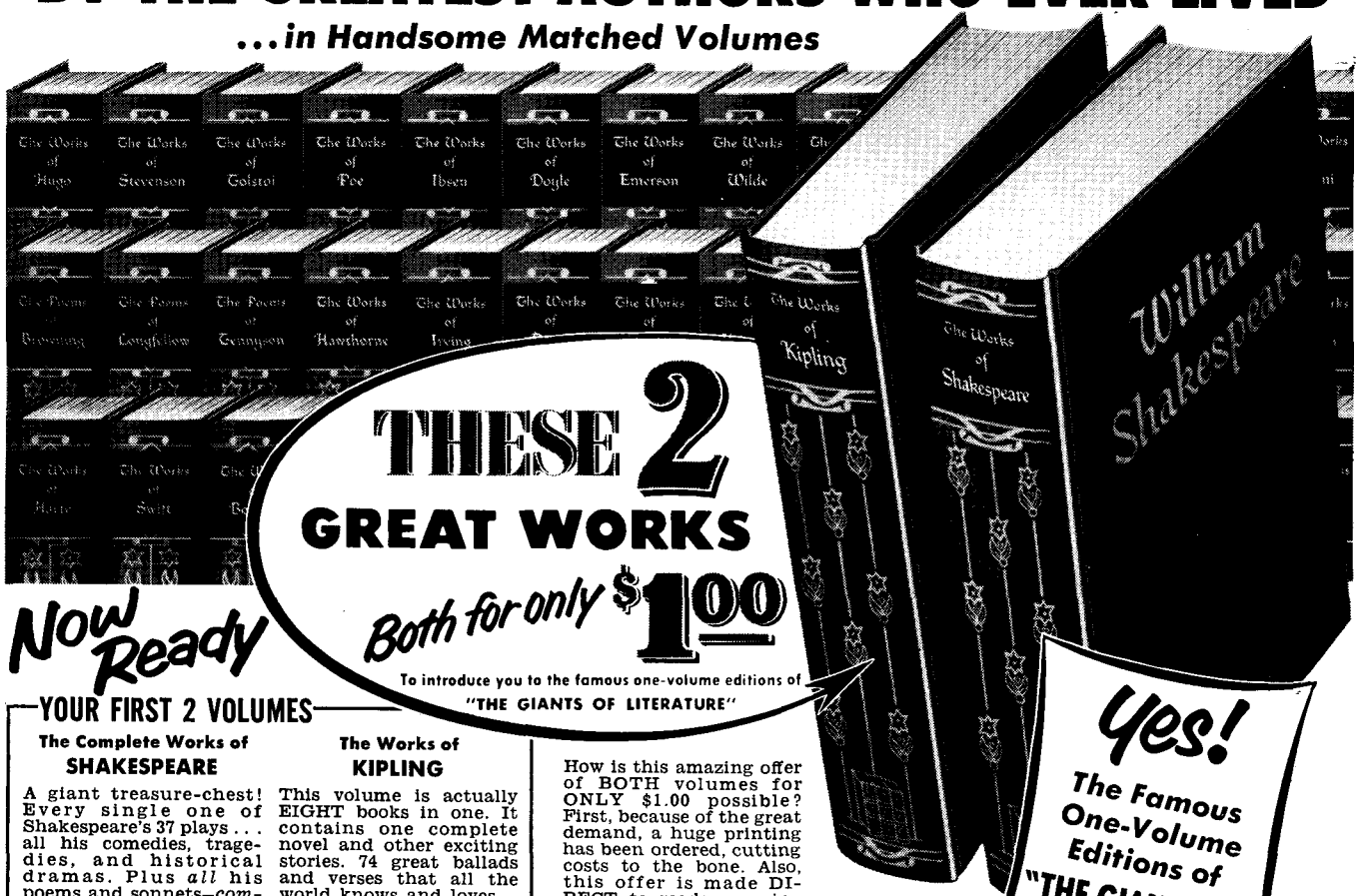

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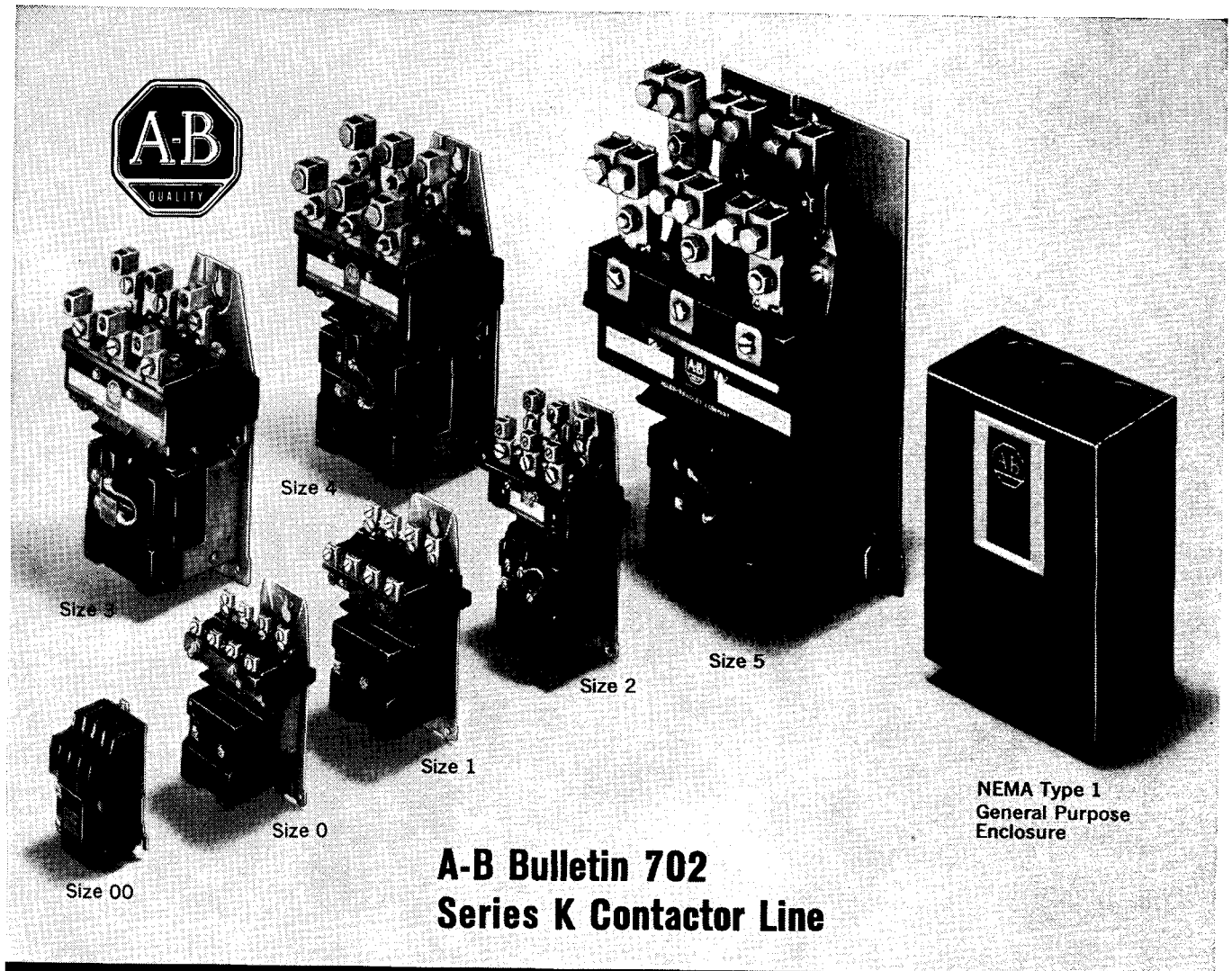

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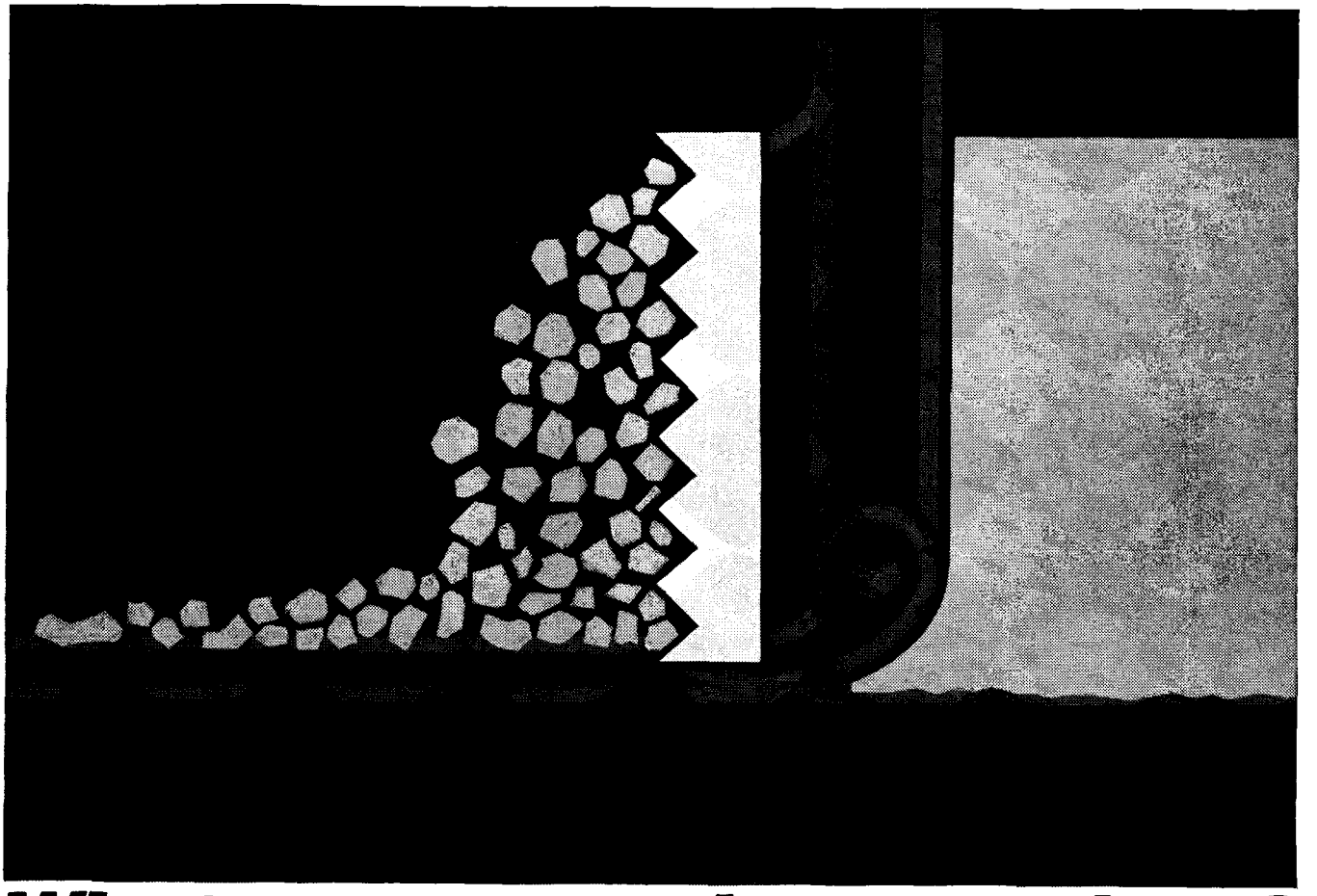

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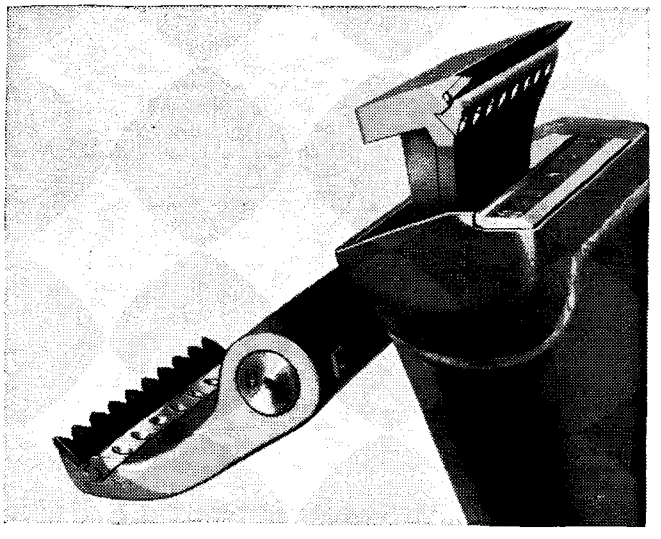

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The WEEK

● The secret report disclosing U Thant's Katanga plan, printed on p. 300 following, came into NATIONAL REVIEW's possession Thursday, October 4. A UN dispatch published the day this paragraph is being written (Wednesday, October 10) shows that the first phase of the UN operation is proceeding according to the specified schedule. In the form of a "report from Robert K. A. Gardiner, chief UN officer in the Congo," alleging a Katangese buildup of mercenaries, aircraft, air fields, etc., the Secretariat is laying down a propaganda cover for the meeting of the Congo Advisory Committee announced for Friday, October 12. The stress on airfields is of special interest in the light of the objectives laid down for the UN military forces in the secret report. The fact that the Advisory Committee session is set for the last day of the scheduled week indicates that the State Department has won out over Zorin in its wish to delay the formal decision until after the U.S. elections. With this first phase now under way, we may expect the operation to continue as planned, unless an overwhelming reaction from American public opinion compels the President to compel U Thant and the UN army to halt.

● Only a few hours after Uganda emerged into nationhood, the U.S. gave it a check for $2 million. Fastest draw in the West.

● TODAY'S SYLLOGISM DEPT. 1) Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev has just completed a ten-day visit to Yugoslavia, at the conclusion of which a communiqué was issued affirming "the identity or proximity of views of both sides on pressing international problems and tendencies of world development." 2) Yugoslav President Tito will pay a return visit to the Soviet Union in December, after which a similar communiqué will be issued. Therefore 3) U.S. President Kennedy, faced with this demonstration that Yugoslavia has healed its rift with Moscow and is again an integral part of the Communist bloc, bullied Congress into dropping the prohibition that would have prevented him from sending further *aid* to Yugoslavia.

● The U.S. is one of the few countries outside the Communist bloc that deny their citizens the right to invest in gold. The current U.S. denial dates back to the emergency executive order of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933. The "emergency" has changed from year to year under Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower (who prohibited ownership of gold in foreign lands), Kennedy (who prohibited ownership of gold coins unless by genuine collectors). Yet the prohibition has never passed into law. Recently a Los Angeles paper reported that a federal judge, William Mathes, dismissed charges against two men accused of illegal possession of gold bullion. Said Judge Mathes, "If we use the Communist menace in this fashion as an emergency and declare ourselves in crisis, I think it improper to act like a Communist just to fight the Communists. In Communist countries the executive can declare a violation to be a crime and it is a crime, but here it is up to Congress to declare an act to be a crime." A courageous and fascinating decision. It will be interesting to see whether the next shipment of gold from Fort Knox moves east, as the last one did, or west, to California, to satisfy a twentieth-century version of the Gold Rush of '49.

● Senator Stephen Young of Ohio recently came undone on the question of Dr. Fred Schwarz, whom he called a "witch doctor," and Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, which he called a "traveling troupe of havoc criers." And he said it would be inexcusable and unjust for students to "waste valuable time listening to an Australian demagogue, a Fascist-minded leader of the lunatic right-wing fringe now in this country, plying his profitable rabble-rousing." Such fancy language hasn't been heard in quite a while. Come to think of it, Senator Young's language was so very fancy indeed that he folded it gently in the cocoon of Congressional Immunity, lest it be damaged, along with his political career, personal reputation, and private bankroll, by exposure in the fresh air of man-to-man discourse. Come out and say it again in the sunshine, Bully Boy Young.

● The international inquiry commission appointed by the British Colonial Office to investigate the February riots in British Guiana that killed several and destroyed 56 buildings in Georgetown has given its report. The report says that the fear of a Communist government was the cause of the riots, and that inflammatory and pro-Red declarations by Cheddi Jagan heightened tensions and set off the violence. Members of the Commission were a British and an Indian judge, and a Ghanaian diplomat. British Guiana was to have received its independence this year, but the riots achieved their objective of delaying the break indefinitely.

● The First Annual Convention of Young Americans for Freedom was held in New York City September 27-29, attended by well over a thousand persons, of whom some two hundred were official dele-

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gates. The principal business was to elect new national officers and regional representatives; but delegates also took the time to make clear their resolves on several important issues. For Cuba they urged an immediate blockade; they upheld the rights of voluntary association for fraternal organizations; they demanded reforms in the National Student Association to effect a more representative body; and they asked for a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's recent anti-prayer ruling. The newly-elected YAF National Chairman, Robert Bauman, is a student in the Georgetown University Law School, has served as a page in the House and as an aide to minority leader Charles Halleck, in addition to his numerous functions in YAF. He has outlined informally a program which stresses political action, and says, encouragingly, "YAF must go into politics with a determination to win for conservatism."

● THE REV. THOMAS J. REESE PRESENTING, AS DIRECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC WELFARE GUIDE OF WILMINGTON, DEL., THE CHARITABLE POINT OF VIEW DEP'T.: "We cannot stand silent when neo-pagans humiliate and starve the needy in Newburgh, and attempt to brand most welfare recipients as chiselers."

● BULLETIN (FLASH): The *S.S. Truman,* last seen two weeks ago steaming out of Idaho, all poops decked and listing pronouncedly to the black after a furious exchange with the Democratic admiralty, was observed today in a foray against the Republican installation at Cape Hart (Indiana). Having first laid down a smokescreen, the aging man-o'-war let fly, the attack reportedly taking the form of an unorthodox charge: Cape Hart, to save itself $10,000 a day, had requested the *Truman* to intervene illegally for the Coal Strike settlement with John L. Lewis. "A fantastic lie," the Cape Hart installation fired back, promising a post-election slander suit. No damage was noted in the Hoosier hq. as its regulars rallied and were reinforced by hordes of Democratic defectors. The *Truman* retreated under cover of fog, and her whereabouts and destination are unknown.

Summit Talk

The rumor is that President Kennedy will meet with Premier Khrushchev during Khrushchev's visit, if indeed he is to come again to New York. Such meetings are, of course, inevitable, given the character of Mr. Kennedy, and the tradition established by President Eisenhower. It takes a man of the strength of de Gaulle to refuse to meet a man of the strength of Khrushchev; and we don't have leaders of strength.

One can only hope that the President will have learned (as Eisenhower never did) from his previous meeting. The main lesson is that Khrushchev considers his meetings with American Presidents as having absolutely no intrinsic significance, *i.e.,* they do not serve as ways and means of personally probing deep dilemmas. Their purpose is extrinsic—to impress world opinion, to throw up a smokescreen over this operation, while pressing hard on that one, to posture as a peacemaker, to affirm, by grinning example, the feasibility of coexistence.

Since Mr. Kennedy has chosen to meet with Khrushchev, he should take what advantages he can out of the meeting, and they are plenty. There is no metaphysical reason why such meetings need always improve the Communists' position. Mr. Kennedy must approach the encounter with a fierce desire to prevail. Let him close his eyes, and imagine standing there, opposite him, Richard Nixon. Then will he speak with the voice of avenging angels, and the glory of the world will lie about him.

Swearing In Algeria

UNITED NATIONS, *October 8.* In spite of what the nubile guide said, the session started on time. The chamber was only one-third full when President Khan called it to order, announcing that the Popular and Democratic Republic of Algeria's application was up for consideration. Seconds later he said that a formal vote was unnecessary, and declared Algeria a member. The chief of protocol led in the Algerian delegation, and the entire chamber rose in applause. The entire gallery rose and cheered. Star Spangled Banner *sí,* Algeria *no,* this visitor resolved, and staggered to his seat, wondering vaguely if

> Our [nuclear] tests have not been quite satisfactory . . . [because] during the moratorium we were not allowed to make formal preparations for the eventuality that we might have to resume testing . . . Who's ahead? . . . It is my guess, and it is only a guess, that the Russians are ahead of us in nuclear weapons today. This need not be fatal. But let them steal another march, let them prepare in secrecy for another few years, and then spring on us another test series . . . and they may have a sufficient lead to be able to say to us, "We can hit you and you cannot hit us back . . ." One day the Russians may acquire the power to defend themselves against our weapons, and if they can do so, and we cannot do a similar thing on our part, it will be just as fatal for us as though they had nuclear weapons and we had none.
>
> —DR. EDWARD TELLER, in an interview

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anyone would shoot him. A fine-looking group of delegates walked to the back, past the rows of applauding admirers. Perhaps we had expected extras left over from *Lawrence of Arabia*, dressed in smelly robes. Anyway, the appearance of the blue-serged Ben Bella, tall and handsome, with nine other finely wrought people, slightly surprised us. One delegate was a tall, statuesque blonde, of striking beauty. A silent prayer that she would not be named ambassador to the Congolese Central Government. The speeches of welcome. M. Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister, flew in for the occasion and spoke first. In elegant French he addressed the man who had spent years in French jails, for the crime of bloody insurrection, and welcomed Algeria to the body of nations, alluding suavely to the tribulations endured in achieving a solution to the Algerian question, and stressing that only by adhering to the Evian agreement and by forging a nation out of *all* the elements in the population could Algeria progress. He pointed out that France left a legacy of the most highly developed administrative organizational talent in Africa. Applause.

The other nations followed, not ignoring the President's plea for brevity. The Jordanian delegate read a poem in Arabic, specially translated for the occasion. It dealt with the long Algerian war, and spoke of blood, love, Arab brotherhood, sand, etc. The Indian delegate had one of those querulous, high-pitched whines. Unction poured out, like droppings from a sacred cow, as he reminded the Assembly how hard his country had labored for years to put the Algerian question on the UN agenda.

"We have no evidence that John Marshall's Court would have acted in any way contrary to this Court, if that Court had been this Court."

COMING NEXT ISSUE:

WHY I'M RUNNING AGAINST NELSON ROCKEFELLER
by David Jaquith

Now it was off for good. He oiled along in tetrous fashion, extolling the heroism of the Algerians in the most inspiring struggle for freedom in world history. After a terminal insult at colonialists, he retired in favor of the Russian delegate. Much applause.

The Communist spoke of "the dark forces of reaction and imperialism" that his country had for so long opposed. He dwelt on the "blood of Algeria's finest sons and daughters shed in the cause of liberty," and promised that, with the continual goading of the Soviet Union, the last remains of colonialism and imperialism would disappear. Tumultuous applause.

Saudi Arabia, Tunisia and Libya trailed by to flail away at the imperialists. Feeling lonely and unloved, we were cheered when time came for Adlai Stevenson. He spoke in tired tones of the long hard struggle for Algeria's rightful place in the world community, and said how glad he was to have Algeria contributing its valuable counsel to the Assembly. He then congratulated General de Gaulle "whose vision made it possible to cut the chains which held the people of Algeria . . ." We turned off the earphones, rose and left. There was really no more to hear.

All in all, a historic event: a public exhibition of the leukemia of the West. D.G.M.C.

Surrender to Castro

Joe Alsop long prided himself on being a tough analyst of international and strategic issues. A couple of years ago he developed a political crush on John F. Kennedy, and has subsequently assigned himself the job of Court Apologist: producing sophisticated excuses, like the poems of a Laureate, for each of the President's succeeding vacillations and retreats —Laos, Berlin, Goa, New Guinea, Katanga. . . . And naturally Cuba: for Cuba comes first in importance as in time, as defining marker of the President's surrender course.

Mr. Alsop now explains that the President's capitulation to Castro's ransom demands—for James Donovan is only a front for the President—is one more display of the profile of heroism. The prisoners arouse in the Presidential breast "prickings of conscience," and if they are left "to rot until they die in Castro's jails," he will "have to pay for his own follies and stand up to his own fate. . . . Kennedy seems to be obeying this injunction in the present instance and in a way not common among politicians." He is

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U Thant's Secret Plan for Katanga

NATIONAL REVIEW *here publishes, in somewhat condensed form, a secret memorandum report as of 1 October 1962, obtained from a source inside the UN apparatus, of the plan developed by the UN Secretariat for dealing with Katanga. There can be no question of its authenticity.*

AIDE-MEMOIRE Secret

The Congo Advisory Committee, made up of the 19 nations that have contributed troops to the UN Congo operation, will meet the week of 8 October to consider a report by the Secretary General on the Congo situation.

The Secretary General will report failure of the conciliation plan. The Committee will suggest a week's postponement, after which the Secretary General will call a meeting of the Security Council.

N.B.: Zorin, the Soviet delegate, is chairman of the Council for the entire month of October.

No mention will be made of the fact that Adoula has shown no tendency toward compromise and has refused to transmit a draft of the proposed Constitution to Tshombe.

Ceylon will present a resolution now being drafted, which will:

1. Affirm Tshombe's intransigence.
2. Repeat UN determination to achieve Congolese unity.
3. Affirm the continued presence of mercenaries in the Katangese gendarmerie.
4. Order the UN occupation force to take control of the mining centers and the frontier exit points.
5. Ask the Belgian government to recall all Belgian technicians, and to cease paying the Belgian government's share of any administrators or technicians who refuse to leave, and to compel the mining firms to turn all tax payments over to the central government.
6. Ask the Belgian government to suspend all SABENA flights to Katanga and to make anyone wishing to enter Katanga go via Léopoldville.

This resolution will be vetoed in the Council by Britain, possibly also by France. It will then be brought before the General Assembly, where it will be adopted with no serious difficulty.

2

The UN Command has before it three plans for military action in Katanga.

A) Air action against the points to be occupied, in particular the key mining center of Kolwezi and the frontier stations. Preliminary bombardment of Katangese garrisons to inhibit any counteraction. N.B.: The UN has just set up an Air Command in the Congo, under an Indian officer.

The United States will judge itself bound, as in the past, by UN decisions, and will supply the necessary transport aircraft and, later on, helicopters.

The chief difficulty could be Katangese initiative in making the air fields unusable by barriers, mines, wrecked landing strips, etc. The UN Command believes this difficulty can be overcome by the use of helicopters.

In the opinion of the UN Command, Plan A has three weaknesses:

1) Difficulty of indefinitely holding conquered positions in the midst of a hostile population; risk of considerable loss of life among UN forces.

2) Probability that UN forces are inadequate for a campaign of this scope.

3) Doubts about the position of the Rhodesian Federation and Angola.

The UN would claim that it did not want to interfere with production but merely supervise it. No Katangese exports would be permitted except against payment of revenues judged due to the central government.

B) A cut down version of Plan A with occupation limited to the frontier stations.

C) UN would limit operations to bombardment of lines of communication (roads, viaducts, tunnels, railways, etc.). Adverse effect on public opinion would be minimized by insisting that uninhabited sections could be picked, with small civilian loss. (Herbert F. Weiss suggested Plan C to the State Department; hence to UN.)

The UN Command considers Plan C to have the merit of stopping Katangese exports without requiring large numbers of troops and without major battles with the Katangese gendarmerie. The UN Command wants to avoid loss of lives on the UN side, especially in contingents from Ireland and Sweden, which might reconsider their support if there were heavy losses among their men.

The UN Command estimates that it would take up to a half year to get the lines of communication functioning again; after which the Plan could be re-started if Katanga had not capitulated.

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Nevertheless, the UN Command finds two weaknesses in Plan C:

1) It gets no money to the central government.

2) If exports would be impossible, so would imports, including needed imports of food. Tshombe could claim that the UN was trying to starve the Katangese people, and pro-Katanga sympathies might spread. In general the UN recognizes that bombardments are not popular.

3

It is further understood that each UN action will be supported by simultaneous action by the troops of the central government in north Katanga. According to UN intelligence, the central army now has 15,000 men in the border zones of that region. The Indians alone have 4,000 in Katanga.

4

The mission of Under Secretary of State George McGhee, now in the Congo, has failed. He was unable to persuade Adoula even to send Tshombe the draft text of the new constitution. The State Department thinks there is little chance he will get Tshombe to concede all down the line.

Washington would like to work out a compromise; but the State Department has based its policy on the UN and will in no circumstances disregard its obligations to a UN decision.

Jonathan Dean, who replaced Hoffacker at Elisabethville, thinks it possible to get Tshombe to make a grandiose gesture--for example, to turn a large sum of money over to the central government as guarantee of a subsequent agreement on sharing taxes and royalties.

The schedule for the Katanga matter has been set up as follows:

1) Week of 8 October: U Thant reports to the Advisory Committee.

2) Week of 15 October: Postponement, as if waiting to hear from Tshombe.

3) Week of 22 October: Security Council meeting.

The Russians will demand that a decision be reached before Zorin's term as chairman expires. However, the Americans will try to drag out the discussion so that no decision can be reached before the election of 6 November. President Kennedy is afraid of the possible effect on public opinion, but judges that his hands will be free from 7 November on.

The Indian units in the Congo have already been ordered to be ready for action as of 12 November.

carrying through the "bold act to take time off from preparing for the Berlin climax in order to rescue the men at the Bay of Pigs from Castro's cruel grip."

This is sycophantic drivel. Well might the President's conscience prick him! But by yielding to Castro's blackmail—"bold act" in Alsop's new vocabulary—the President proposes "to pay for his own follies" altogether at our expense and the nation's. The money is the smallest part of the price—though it is our money, too, that will pay for Mr. Kennedy's folly. The greater cost is in the material, moral and psychological boost for our enemy, the confusion spread among our friends, the ineradicable wound to our nation's honor.

Yes, we—Mr. Kennedy and all the rest of us—do have an obligation in conscience to rescue these men from Castro's cruel grip, to rescue them as prisoners of war are rightly and honorably rescued: by carrying through to victory the war in which they gallantly fought. The ransoming of the prisoners is a public demonstration that the President accepts defeat, that these men fought in vain.

The Conservative Party (N.Y.) Is Here to Stay

The Conservative Party of the State of New York has won a stunning victory, whose consequences may stretch forward into American history. At long last, after one billion meetings, a dozen aborted efforts, and talk-talk-talk that dates back seven years, two young men took the problem in hand and set out to organize a party which will do in New York State politics for conservatism what the Liberal Party has done for leftism. The problem was never getting the required 50,000 people to vote a conservative ticket—that much is a breeze. The problem was to get on the ballot, which meant getting the right number of signatures from each of 61 counties, and running the risk that if in any one of the 61 a sufficient number of signatories were discredited, on whatever technicality, the entire effort would be legally disallowed.

And oh, how he tried; but after huffing and puffing for two weeks, all of Rockefeller's horses and all of his men failed to discredit or intimidate enough of the signers, and the Conservative Party became a legally constituted party, whose name will appear in every polling booth in New York on November 6, alongside those of the other parties. The Conservatives will put up a conservative alternative to Mr. Rockefeller, David Jaquith; and to Senator Javits (what other kind of alternative is there to Javits?), Kieran O'Doherty.

However many votes the party wins—our own esti-

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mate is above, perhaps well above, 100 thousand—its effect on the Republican Party will be immense: because the party need get only fifty thousand votes to stay on the ballot. As a legally constituted and continuing political party in New York, it can put pressure on the Republican Party (*and* the Democratic Party, for that matter) to heed the desires of the disfranchised conservatives, Democrats and Republicans alike. For them, last week's victory of the Conservative Party is the exact equivalent of an Emancipation Proclamation.

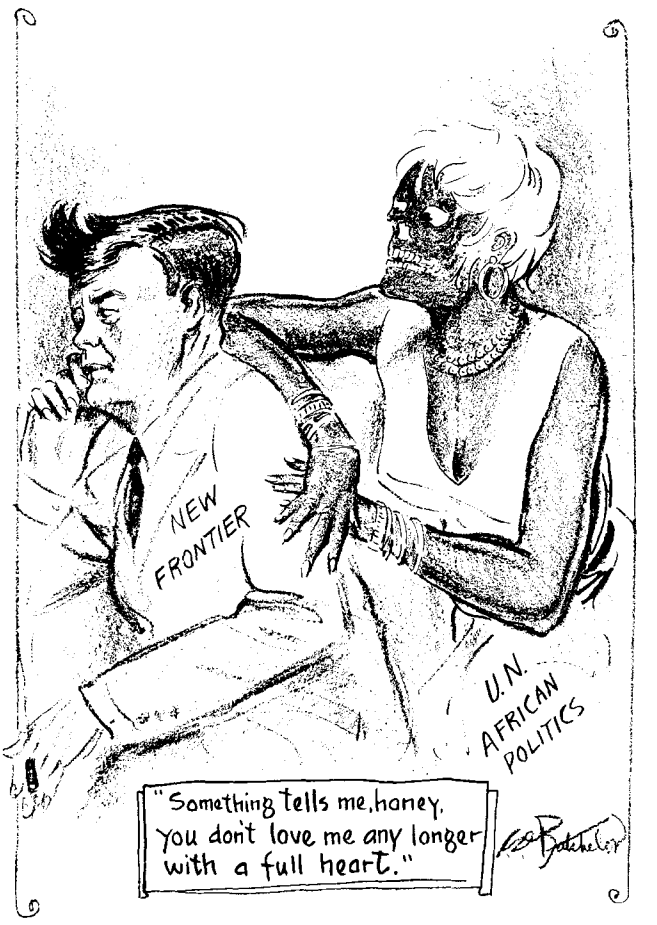
The bearing of the Conservative Party on the affairs of the nation will be considerable. Did you know that the Liberal Party takes credit for the election of Mr. Kennedy to the Presidency? Even so. If everyone who voted Liberal had stayed home instead, Nixon would have won New York, and the nation. A complementary organization, invigorating conservative activity, nominating its own candidates when absolutely necessary (*e.g.*, when Rockefeller and Javits are running), endorsing Republican or Democratic candidates on other occasions, is the antidote to the ideological effrontery of New York's highly organized left wing, which for years has exercised a veto over the Democratic Party, and a near-veto over the Republican Party. Happy days.

General Walker, Stage II

General Walker has been released, thanks largely to the good offices of Robert Morris, who swooped down on Springfield, Missouri, and shook up the legal joint; and of course to the General's friends, who put up the reduced fifty thousand-dollar bond. Those who spend so much time worrying about due process should consider the General's present plight, thanks to the Department of Justice, and the judge in Mississippi who committed him.

Either Walker is, in the legal sense, crazy, or he is not. If he is, it is up to his attorneys to so plead. If he is not, he is nevertheless branded in the public eye as putatively crazy, thanks to the effrontery of a government psychiatrist who, without even setting eyes on the General, persuaded a judge to detain him in psychiatric custody. The circumstances of his detention, and subsequent abuse (one hundred thousand dollars' bail and then, for five days, bail denied), strengthens the impression that he was, indeed, a political prisoner—"America's first political prisoner," Mr. Morris claims.

That is a pretty dangerous weapon the government is playing with. Tomorrow it could be thee, or me (Who, ME??? Yes you, bud, now come along, and don't give us any trouble . . .). One needs to bear in mind, during the next few weeks, that it matters not at all so far as civil liberties are concerned



whether General Walker is found to be crazy by the psychiatrists who are now examining him. The point is that habeas corpus must not be waived at the initiative of the government, unless there is a plausible case that the defendant is homicidally bent, and such a thing was never suggested about General Walker. It may be freely conceded that the General was making, during the days before his arrest, a series of utterly incoherent statements, but if that is a sign of putative madness, then someone should put iron bars around the UN. Just as a starter.

Glenn Saxon, RIP

Last week a fine man and a fine teacher, who was for years the conservative pillar of Yale's Department of Economics, died—one year after his retirement. The following tribute is reprinted from the *Yale Daily News*:

> The death of O. Glenn Saxon should sadden everyone who ever came in touch with him, including those who sat in his classroom gnashing their teeth in frustration as he would unroll his *Weltschmerz*, his brief against the modern world. Yet it is a fact that in the estimate of the man, the integrity of his dissent from contemporary liberalism tended to prevail in the opinion of those students who disagreed with him, even those many who continued, and continue, to do so.

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More than a year ago, on his retirement from Yale, a group of his former students came together to give him a testimonial dinner. They were not merely men who agreed with him: there were others, who attended because they knew his totally honest and uncynical attachment to his point of view, and his fervent belief that he was struggling not only for the well-being of his political friends, but for his political foes as well. Disagreements can be very complicated nowadays, and political positions are increasingly complex, so that often a man's moral energy becomes dissipated in super-elaborate refinement. Only now and then will devotional fires overpower the temptation to intellectual dandiness, and these fires burned—and consumed—Glenn Saxon, making him a teacher in the tradition not of the skeptics, but of the true believers. With it all, he was kindness itself. Those who knew his face must have thought it the most outraged face in history—he might well have sat before Michelangelo setting out to depict *The Torment of the Damned.* But all the tensions drained on human contact; and now that they are drained forever, we hope he will find eternal peace in a wholly competitive celestial economy.

Notes and Asides

We have a great many letters from hard-pressed students, in high school and college, who ask if we can provide this year, as we did last, a limited number of free subscriptions to NATIONAL REVIEW. The answer: that depends completely on whether gifts are made to NATIONAL REVIEW earmarked for student readers. At the moment, our balance for that purpose is $0.00, not unlike our other balances. To students: sorry, but we'll keep your petitions in chronological order, in case money should be made available. Meanwhile, see if you can't get your maiden aunt to come through for you. To parents: if you have $3.89 to spare for these students, pass it along, and receive their thanks, and ours.

Mr. Arnold Beichman, one of our sharpest critics who, unfortunately, doesn't miss a thing, calls to our attention a grave injustice we recently did to Ambassador to Peru in absentia, James Loeb. NATIONAL REVIEW cited as evidence of Mr. Loeb's ineptitude a letter that he had addressed to the dean of the school of engineering at Lima, interfering with local politics. Mr. Beichman sends us a copy of the letter in question, and it is a spirited defense of the United States' decision to resume nuclear testing, and a query to Peruvian intellectuals asking why they did not complain against the earlier decision of the Soviet Union to resume testing. We are glad to correct the record.

For the Record

One world: since 1953 a total of 16 Soviet UN delegates and employees have been sent home for espionage . . . . the number of East Germans who have escaped since the Wall went up now exceeds 12,000. . . . State Dept. confirms that fifteen missile bases are now completed in Cuba, with ten more under construction, plus sixteen missile-bearing PT boats in Cuban harbors . . . . Chou En-lai's admission that the Great Leap Forward has collapsed being taken as sign that Mao on the way out. Both Soviets and Red Chinese Army want him out, but for different reasons.

Newly revised history of the Executive mansion in Albany deletes reference to Mrs. Rockefeller, who reportedly initiated first published history of mansion. . . . "Free Kenya" group now propagandizing in Midwest: calls for total embargo on British trade and support for Mau Mau. . . . Columbia River treaty will now be ratified by Canada: Social Credit members made Dominion ratification of power sale to U.S. price of supporting Government in confidence motion in Parliament. . . . Canada to continue trade with Cuba. . . . Most American press reports on Lord Home's speech at UN made it appear soft. Reason: he abandoned conciliatory prepared text for off-the-cuff attack on Communists. Press used prepared speech.

Plans for Madison Square Garden Rally for the Conservative Party are going ahead full steam. Speakers: gubernatorial candidate David Jaquith, senatorial candidate Kieran O'Doherty, former N.J. Gov. Charles Edison, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., Frank Meyer, Lawrence Fertig and Prof. Charles Rice. Date: Oct. 22. Tickets available from the Party at 350 Lexington Ave.

Senate to be asked to ratify coffee agreement which should reduce surpluses over next few years, raise prices. . . . Sewer-flushing operations in Rio de Janeiro washed out a man who'd been living in drainpipe for six years. He's demanding damages for expropriation and inconvenience. . . . The red telephone in JFK's office, which is to be used only in event of nuclear war, has changed color: it's now yellow.

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On the Right

The Mess in Mississippi —An Afterword

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The average critic of the South simply does not believe you when you say that the South understands itself to be fighting a battle for states' rights. There are lots of reasons why it is so widely assumed that the Southern position is hypocritical. The reason most often cited is the notorious Southern appetite for federal patronage, not to say federal condescension, when what comes out of Washington is not rules having to do with segregation, but bills providing for free schools, free dams, free army posts, free pork barrel bills, free depressed areas, and free advice, from the government printers, on everything from beehives to juvenile delinquency. For such an army of professional mendicants all of a sudden to plead their independence is—the critic continues—unpersuasive. What is behind it all, they say, is a genuine hatred and fear of the Negro race, by the white man.

Buckley

And then a few days ago in the heat of the crisis in Mississippi a story came out of Hartford, Connecticut, involving Governor Ross Barnett. It transpires that a dozen years ago Mr. Barnett, then merely a practicing lawyer, was in Hartford trying a case; and one evening sat down for dinner and noticed a Negro eating at the other end of the restaurant. In high dudgeon he accosted the manager of the restaurant, demanding that the Negro be ejected. So much commotion, the police were called in; and Barnett was taken to the station. There he calmed down, and agreed to apologize to the manager, if the charges against him—disturbing the peace, presumably—would be dropped. The police agreed.

Twelve years later this man, who says he believes in states' rights but tries to tell citizens of Connecticut what they can do and what they can't do, becomes governor, precipitates a constitutional crisis, and affects to worry about states' rights when the Hartford incident, at least, suggests that what he worries about is the Negro.

And Governor Barnett, it appears to me, encourages still further doubt respecting his sincerity when one considers the braggadocio with which he announced his absolute determination to keep James Meredith out of the University of Mississippi, and his subsequent capitulation under pressure. If you tell the world you will go to jail rather than comply with a court order because you consider it a matter of principle, why then go to jail, dammit, or incur the contempt of those you asked to believe you when you said you were willing to fight to the end. The only honorable alternative course of action for Governor Barnett to have taken, as he saw himself overwhelmed, was to resign his office: on the grounds that he could not, as things developed, carry out his oath to defend the constitution of the State of Mississippi as he and the people understood that constitution.

The vagaries of Mr. Barnett, then, add fuel to the suspicion that the entire white Southern community is simply seeking, in its war against the Negro, to find a respectable terminology through which to fight that fight. And yet, in fact, it is not so. It may be true that the passion with which the average white Southerner resists the Supreme Court decision is provided by his devoted belief in the institution of segregation as uniquely meeting the social needs of the moment in most parts of the South. But whatever it is provides the passion, the *political* cause is admirable. It is the cause of home rule and it is the essence of the American system; and those in the United States who continue to honor the federal system must, though they may despise the Barnetts of this world, feel a considerable sympathy for the right of a community up against the rights of a Supreme Court which, in the words of the late Justice Learned Hand, has recently converted itself into a "third legislative chamber."

"Even among law-abiding men, few laws are universally loved. But they are uniformly respected and not resisted," said President Kennedy on television.

That is arrant nonsense, and the men who put this country together knew it, which is why they adopted the federal system. No law whose validity is universally challenged will be uniformly respected, a proposition practically everyone in America used to drink to in the days of Prohibition. In Mississippi, in 1962, under the cunctatorship of Ross Barnett, they fought for, and lost—as they had to lose, after years of attrition against the idea of states' rights—the formal battle for state sovereignty over its schools.

But as Mr. Kennedy and the rest of the world will see, the Supreme Court's order, because it is *not* universally respected, will be resisted; and poor Mr. Meredith, a courageous human being, will find, as he pursues his studies into the nature of man and things, that good laws tend to follow on good resolve, rather than the other way 'round: and that the Negro will be truly emancipated only because the white man and the Negro have reached a new level of understanding and mutual respect; not because, in 1954, the justices of the Supreme Court decide to bestow on their subjects a brand-new natural right.

Vote Note

"I speak with a voice that will be heard."
We have no cause to doubt it.
It's better to be for Ted than Dead,
But judging from all the reports we've read,
From Wall St. to Laos, the concatenation
Demands a more suitable qualification.

CARMEN LULVES

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From Washington Straight

CATO

The 87th Congress is finally grinding to a halt. Its most memorable accomplishment appears to have been the establishment of a record for the longest continuous peacetime session in over a century. Aside from this, little worth while was accomplished. And, taken as a whole, it represented a sharp defeat for President Kennedy. Why did the session last so long? Most speculation centers around the belief that the Democratic leadership had got the word direct from the White House to keep the boys in town. The reasoning behind this strategy is the hope that a good number of the recalcitrant old-timers in the House, from both parties, will go down to defeat simply because they were prevented from getting home to campaign. The rest of the Administration strategy to elect Kennedy-Democrats to Congress, is beginning to reveal itself as November 6 approaches.

Cato

Here is a brief rundown: 1) Keep Congress in session as long as possible (done). 2) Pick and choose issues carefully and feed them to the New Frontier-type candidates for wide dissemination in their districts: Urban Affairs Department, School Aid, whatever, depending on local feeling. 3) Get the line established and hammer away at it mercilessly so that the incumbent, when he gets home, will find himself buried in a mass of charges that he will not be able to answer before election day. 4) *Above all avoid any discussion of foreign policy.* Cuba, a sore subject everywhere, is to be blamed on the Eisenhower Administration, and sympathy for JFK generated. Believe it or not, this is working.

The end result of all this is becoming possible to predict. The GOP gain, which ought to be a sweep on the record, will be held to from five to ten seats in the House, maybe one in the Senate.

Here is a glimpse of a few election contests: 1) The chances of such Republicans in the South as North Carolina's hopeful, James Broyhill and Georgia's Jim O'Callaghan have been improved immeasurably since Oxford, Miss. became a New Frontier battlefield. This is the story throughout the South wherever the GOP has fielded candidates for Congress. 2) Governorships: a gain of from six to ten for the GOP. In Ohio, Auditor James Rhodes, a shoo-in a couple of weeks ago, may go down to defeat over a newly erupted financial scandal. He may still make it, however, since his opponent, the incumbent Democratic Governor Mike DiSalle, is just about as unpopular as it is possible for a politician to be. In Minnesota, incumbent Governor Elmer Anderson, an underdog in his race for re-election up to a week or so ago, now looks as if he might beat DFL Lt. Governor Rolvaag. Nixon-Brown in California: you pays your money and you takes your choice. In Pennsylvania: Bill Scranton, freshman GOP Congressman, will probably beat former Philadelphia Mayor Richardson Dillworth. In Michigan George Romney seems to be rambling on toward a compact victory. 3) In Minnesota's Fifth District, Rep. Walter Judd (R) is fighting for his life. His opponent, a brash young DFL protégé of Sen. Hubert Humphrey, has campaigned steadily since last Christmas. In a normal situation Judd would walk all over his opponent, State Sen. Ben Fraser, but his district has been gerrymandered, and as the GOP's top man on the subject of foreign affairs, Judd has stuck to his post in Washington, and has not been home to defend himself against a barrel of specious charges hurled by Left Liberal Fraser, who plays with facts with a reckless abandon.

President Kennedy's tour around the nation on behalf of Democratic candidates is backfiring badly in some areas. In South Dakota Republican Representative Ben Riefel saw his poll jump from 69 to 73 per cent with a drop from 31 to 27 per cent for his opponent. In Ohio the crowds greeting Kennedy were about half the expected number, and many in the airport audience in Cincinnati carried anti-Kennedy signs. As a matter of fact, it was only an appeal by Republican leaders on the ground of the dignity of the Presidency that prevented some outright hostile demonstrations.

Congress adopted a resolution expressing its sense that the Legislative Branch favors the use of any means necessary to uphold Allied rights in Berlin. But instead of strengthening the U.S. position over Berlin, the resolution may well have weakened it. The original resolution, hammered out by the Democratic Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the GOP's Walter Judd, got chopped up in Committee through the efforts of the State Department. Judd fought bitterly in Committee to keep the original language which spelled out carefully just what Western rights in Berlin were. But the White House and Foggy Bottom pressure was too great and the end result was a watered-down resolution that should act as a warning light more to West Germany than to Khrushchev.

Many Congressmen are saying privately that JFK will deal with Khrushchev over Berlin after the elections. They foresee a face-saving deal *à la* Laos in the offing in order to avoid the inevitable blowup that nearly everyone sees approaching.

One Congressman has told friends that he sees no way out of this situation short of impeachment of the President, which is about as likely as the election of Ross Barnett to head the NAACP. But it is revealing that such sentiments could be expressed at all.

Another prospect in the offing, according to insiders—a full-scale Red revolt in both Haiti and Santo Domingo, sparked by Ghanaian troops now being slipped into both countries from Cuba. Added to this is the real prospect of a Communist takeover in Brazil, where Red militia in the interior are getting shipments of Soviet arms via Cuba. The Administration is ignoring these bold violations of the Kennedy doctrine concerning exportation of Cuban Communism.

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The Third World War

Is Cuba a Threat?

JAMES BURNHAM

The present and undisputed facts are: 1) Cuba is ruled by a Communist regime; 2) Communist Cuba is a member of the Moscow-dominated Communist bloc; 3) equipment from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany is building up Cuba's armament; 4) thousands of military specialists from Russia and other Communist nations have entered Cuba.

In order to justify his failure to change these facts, the President insists that even so Cuba "does not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere." He promises that "if at any time the Communist buildup were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way . . . then this country will do whatever must be done."

The Monroe Doctrine declared that "we should consider any attempt on [the part of non-American powers] to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety," and would react accordingly. But though the Soviet Russian system—not to speak of Soviet arms and agents—has admittedly been extended to Cuba, a portion of this hemisphere, the President rejects the conclusion that this endangers "in any way" our security—that is, our peace and safety; and he renounces the necessity for counteraction. There is no ambiguity. The officially stated doctrine of John F. Kennedy has abrogated the 139-year-old doctrine of James Monroe.

Let us assume for the moment that the President is correct in believing—or at any rate in telling us, for we do not really know what he believes—that Cuba is not a threat.

If Cuba is not a threat, then what in God's name are our soldiers doing in South Vietnam? What business does the Seventh Fleet have intervening in the affairs of tiny islands off the South China coast? Why did our marines land in 1958 on the beaches of Lebanon? And what about that bloody police action in Korea?

Has Mr. Kennedy swung to a neo-isolationism out-isolating anything ever preached by America First? The New Frontier of our security zone is evidently to be drawn at the three mile limit. And it may be observed that the President's reassurances on Cuba have wakened echoes in some of the lingering isolationist enclaves; nor is this the first time when the capitulationist Left and isolationist-nationalist Right meet on a Kennedy-built bridge.

Why Not Kansas?

But why stop at the three mile limit? Suppose that Soviet arms and technicians arrived one day—at the invitation of the owner, of course—at a Kansas farm. Would there be cause for alarm? Not by the logic of the Kennedy Doctrine: the threat would be less, not more, than from today's Cuba. Surely the Kansan group could not attack and defeat our military establishment. We could keep an easier, fuller watch over their doings than over Castro's.

The whole approach is nonsense, really, isn't it? Do you see "a threat" only when your enemy has got you by the throat, only after the H-bombs start exploding? Nobody contends that the Communists are able to launch a successful invasion of mainland United States from Cuba today. Nor were they, or are they, from Greece, Korea, Lebanon, Vietnam, or Berlin for that matter. Direct, immediate invasion is not what is in question when we ask whether Cuba is now "a threat."

Cuba's threat to the United States is real, immediate and multiple. Its dimensions are psycho-political, paramilitary and military.

Cuba is today an active base of psycho-political operations that undermine the prestige, power and alliances of the U.S. The mere existence of a Moscow-allied Communist regime in Cuba erodes the influence of the U.S. everywhere in the world, above all in Latin America. But Castro's regime is not just passively existing. By and through Cuba the Communists conduct a continuous anti-U.S. campaign of propaganda, pressure and subversion which has already won notable victories: witness the anti-U.S. shifts by Mexico and Brazil; the Cuba-aggravated internal troubles in Peru, Chile, Venzuela, the Dominican Republic; the drying up of private foreign investment in Latin America and the flight of native capital. And Castro strangled the Alliance for Progress at birth.

Psycho-political operations from Cuba merge into the paramilitary. From and through Cuba, guerrilla and revolutionary actions are being supported in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala and elsewhere. Russian ships bring hundreds of young Latin Americans to Havana for training and indoctrination. Cheddi Jagan makes no secret of his solidarity with Castro, and will openly link up with Cuba as soon as British Guiana gets full independence. A Cuban-supported overturn in the Dominican Republic and Haiti is probable. An expanding anti-U.S. "Havana Pact" may soon be on the agenda.

What Threats Look Like

It is folly to dismiss the direct military threat. There is no such line between defensive and offensive weapons as the President tried to draw. *Already* Cuba is an advance intelligence post of incomparable value to Moscow: for radio, radar, submarine, ship, plane, easy transfer of agents, etc. The equipment *already* at hand—planes, patrol boats, short-range missiles, tanks and armored vehicles, mobile guns, huge quantities of smaller arms—are well adapted for Caribbean operations.

And what possible guarantee is there that the equipment will not include, does not already include, nuclear devices? Disassembled, these are easy to conceal. The Soviet technicians are there to handle them. There are launching pads and airstrips from which their vehicles could rise. Will the President be ready to "do whatever must be done" on the morning that an ultimatum informs him that Cuba-based H-bombs are ready for launch?

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What Are Our Propagandists Up To?

If you can make sense out of American propaganda policy, tell it to this Indian, who can't understand what we are up to, or this American, who can't either

I. *Viewed from Abroad*

PRAKASH C. JAIN

Apart from projecting a good image of America, is it or is it not one of USIA's jobs to inform people about Communism? I ask this question because I see a strange discrepancy in what this organization says in Washington and what it does in New Delhi. When it asks for larger allocations from the American Congress, it emphasizes its activities against Communism but, at least in India, its chief preoccupation seems to be how to avoid even mentioning countries like Soviet Russia and Red China.

Not that it does not have the means or the resources. Indeed, in India, it runs major publishing organizations which employ 659 people. Its fortnightly tabloid, the *American Reporter*, is published in eight languages and mailed free to 390,000 homes—that is, nearly four times the number reached by any of India's largest dailies. Its monthly magazine has a print run of 69,000 copies—a very large circulation according to Indian standards. Its quarterly publication, the *American Review*, is mailed to 8,800 intellectuals and scholars.

Yet another of its monthly publications, the *American Labor Review*, goes to 17,600 industrialists, trade union and labor leaders. And the American Embassy *Newsletter* reaches another 26,000 prominent persons.

These figures are certainly impressive, but viewed in the context of the fight against Communism, they represent wasted time and assets.

Here, for instance, is an analysis of the *American Reporter*, the USIS's premier publication in India over the past three years.

In 1959, the biggest stories, which, if properly presented, could have done great damage to the Communist image were: Red China's commune program (its cut in daily food rations to starvation levels; the admission by its leaders that they had falsified earlier figures on agricultural and industrial production); the attack on Tibet, which included the killing of 80,000 of its inhabitants, pillaging of temples and monasteries, deportation of male adults to forced labor in China; and China's aggression on India's borders.

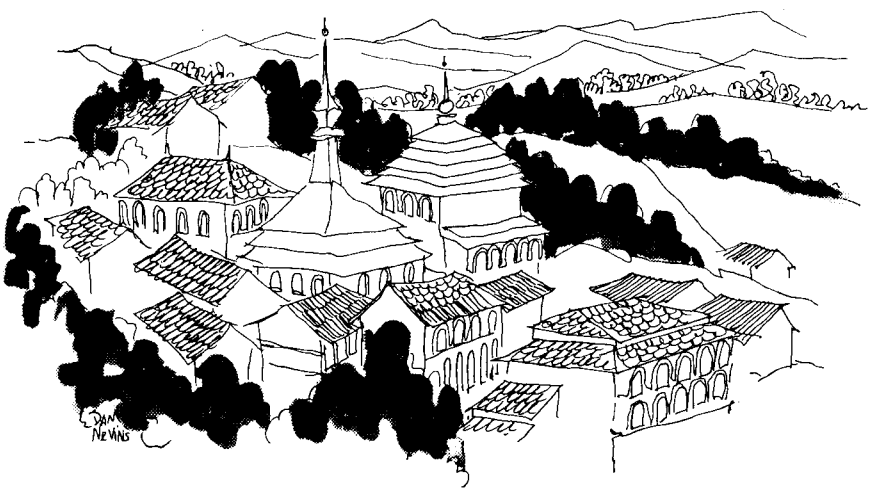
How did the *American Reporter* represent the above facts? A careful study of its 1959 file reveals that it didn't print a single line about the Chinese communes, the mainland food shortages, or the failure of the much-vaunted "Great Leap Forward." It didn't say a word about Red Chinese aggression against India.

In the entire year, it published only two stories on Tibet—one in its issue of April 8, in which it devoted 16 column inches to the State Department statement of sympathy for the Tibetans; and the other, in its issue of May 20, in which it gave 12 column inches to the arrival of American drugs for the Tibetan refugees in India.

In the same year, it printed 89 column inches of material (Aug. 26, Sept. 23, and Oct. 7) on Khrushchev's visit to America and 23½ column inches (Aug. 26) on American college students meeting Mr. Nehru.

Other stories that got prominent display were: sidelights on American films; Indian students and other visitors in America and their high opinion about American affluence; Hindu dancing and plays in America; profiles of prominent Americans; American scientific achievements; American professors teaching in India; the success of India's five-year plans, and, of course, American economic aid to India.

In their defense, USIS officers here claim they cannot report on the rape of Tibet or famine conditions in Red China because of India's restrictions on propaganda against friendly countries. But could they not reproduce a few news stories or editorial comments from American papers, or reprint some of the speeches of American representatives in the United Nations? The Soviet Information Service here does this kind of thing all the time. And by circulating long edito-



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rials from *Pravda* or *Izvestia*, or by reprinting Mr. Khrushchev's propagandistic speeches, it carries on a most virulent propaganda against the United States.

In 1960, the main stories emanating from the Communist world were: a 20 per cent decline in Soviet agricultural production; worsening of conditions in the Chinese communes; a continuous stream of hungry, ragged Chinese refugees to Hong Kong, and Communist infiltration in Laos. Again, the *American Reporter* made no mention of any of these subjects.

In 1961, the main world stories were the Communist invasion of Laos and South Vietnam; trouble in Berlin; the flight of four million East Germans to West Germany; the Wall, and the Sino-Soviet rift.

First Things First

Once again, the *American Reporter* —with its apparent disdain for any story which might tarnish the Communist image—blacked out all these issues, except one. In its April 5 number, it accorded 25 column inches to a report on President Kennedy's press conference on Laos. No mention, however, was made of Soviet airdrops of supplies to Laotian rebels, and this omission cannot be attributed to lack of space, for the same issue carried, in two full pages, eight pictures of President Kennedy and his family.

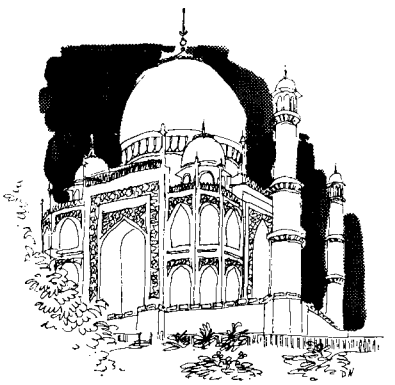
What was the USIS in India doing through this time of turmoil and crisis? I shall let you judge for yourself by giving extracts from a report by Mr. Edward R. Murrow, present director of the USIA in Washington, on USIS activities in India from January through June of 1961.

> In India . . . the Agency employed all its resources in celebrating the centenary of the revered poet and artist, Rabindranath Tagore, noting that this country was one of the first to recognize his genius, publishing his poems even before he received the Nobel Award. Children of the American school in New Delhi garlanded his bust with flowers in the Indian tradition. American speakers addressed large audiences in Bengali; the Agency issued a small book, *Tagore in America*, telling of his five visits to the United States and the friends he made here. *Press and Publications* sent out more than 100 articles to India and East Pakistan; the Voice of America broadcast programs which were carried by the 28 All-India radio stations. . . . The Agency was even credited with scooping Indian magazines with material on Tagore. . . .

Let's take a look at the USIS's *Span* magazine. I agree with its editor that it is one of the best produced magazines in Asia. But in the context of the present life-and-death struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, is it not a living monument to American frivolity?

For example, its April 1962 issue contains the following articles: Anguish of Modern Art; the Pittsburgh International Exhibition of Contemporary Art; the Cleveland Museum of Art; Mrs. Sharan Rani—a leading instrument player who recently visited the U.S.; Selman Waksman; the Baird marionette play; introduction of free lunch in some Indian schools; the *New York Times*; life on an American farm; the U.S. Department of Commerce; and the technique of ballet dancer Maria Tallchief.

How on earth can the printing of such stories help the cause of freedom or forward the fight against Communism?



Why should the USIS be so lukewarm in the fight against Communism?

For one thing, American officials here have very queer ideas about fighting Communism. One of these, for instance, recently said that if Indians could really believe that America was more advanced in science than Soviet Russia, they would automatically reject Communism and turn to America. But why then were the Indian masses, or at least their leaders, distinctly pro-Soviet before the first sputnik went up?

Unfortunately, this woolly-mindedness persists even in the highest USIS echelons. As I see it, the main reason for the Soviet success and American discomfiture in India and other underdeveloped areas lies in the lack of understanding by American propagandists of their own country and the spirit behind it. At every step, they seem to confuse the American spirit either with its current socio-cultural fashions, or, with such superficial externals as its skyscrapers, supermarkets, art galleries and the abundance of telephones.

Instead of talking about the ideology of freedom and emphasizing those moral-spiritual values which have made America what it is today, they try to lure people through a show of their country's opulence and technical advance. In contrast, Soviet propaganda publications in India stress their basic idea that true peace, true justice, true freedom, and true plenty are possible only under a Communist system.

What I am trying to point out is that today America and Russia are attempting to sell two completely different things. America sells its current habits and patterns of living—which are ephemeral. Russia sells ideas—which are more lasting.

Here in India, under the impact of American propaganda, the masses of men identify material progress with the American pattern of living and behavior, and high American consumption standards. But, under the impact of the Soviet propaganda, they identify spiritual-moral progress with a Soviet-type politico-economic structure.

The result is a wholesale confusion in thinking which leads even such an intelligent man as Jawaharlal Nehru to feel that for all-around progress, he should aim simultaneously at the American level of consumption and a socialist pattern of society.

Indeed, this sets up a vicious circle. As the American publications and movies penetrate deep into the Indian hinterlands more and more people, with their eyes on the American standards of earning and spending, become more and more conscious of their own poverty. Inevitably more and more of them look forward to an early establishment of a Soviet-type system—which explains why, despite China's border raids against India, 660,287 more people voted for the Communist Party in last February's national election than in 1957.

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II. *Viewed from the U. S.*

JAMES RORTY

The seismographs of the Atomic Energy Commission had barely begun to record the shock waves of Khrushchev's 30-megaton propaganda bomb a year ago when the sweating radio engineers of the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and the BBC reported that sharply increased Russian jamming operations made it impossible for them to get the word to the Russian people. Only a handful of Russians heard this news, or the cries of the neutrals begging that the world be spared the promised 50-megaton blast.

When the big bomb fell a week later the electronic iron curtain was still intact and all but impenetrable by the massed power of the Voice's 52 transmitters. In propaganda terms, Khrushchev had scored a major strike, virtually without reprisal. There have been many such strikes since 1945 when Stalin stretched barbed wire along the frontiers of his new conquests and, having first stopped the ears and blinded the eyes of his people with propaganda, launched the Cold War.

Each strike, made without fear of effective retaliation, has helped to whittle down the West and its will to resist Communism's other weapons: military and paramilitary force, espionage, subversion and sabotage, nuclear blackmail.

Proof of the Possible

We know that propaganda could be even more effective in our hands than in theirs, presuming that we chose to use it effectively and in force. This is shown by the serious damage inflicted on the Kremlin whenever we have really attempted a "truth offensive," by the volume and vigilance of Soviet jamming and the importance the Russians have attached to our West German propaganda outposts in past and current "peace" maneuvers.

Why, then, do we continue to allow the Communists unchallenged superiority in the possession and use of this weapon at a time when, despite our defensive matching of bomb for bomb, missile for missile, and diplomatic note for note, we are steadily losing the Cold War?

Not being privy to the discussions that go on in our State Department I cannot answer that question. Indeed, I find myself as baffled now as I was during the exciting three years —from 1950 to 1953—I spent dropping Voice of America's propaganda missiles on the Russians, computing their effects, and wondering why our efforts received so little encouragement from Washington. Then, as now, we were forbidden to load our warheads with anything but the truth. But Soviet jamming was relatively less effective then, and when we hit Warsaw with the truth about the Katyn Forest massacres, then being investigated by the Madden Committee in Congress, the effects were electric.

Riots flared in a half dozen areas. Intelligence reports informed us that the Polish Politbureau had held three successive meetings devoted solely to discussing what to do about the Voice of America. Two of our embassies in Eastern Europe wired in code urging more of the same and suggesting other explosive subjects and targets. In Moscow, *Pravda*, which had hitherto almost ignored our existence, honored us with a full page of hysterical denunciation.

Soon Moscow's stepped-up jamming blunted our offensive. Not, however, before we had gathered a series of sharp reprimands from the bureaucrats in Washington who censored our scripts. It seemed we were exceeding our mandate. The truth, yes, but did we have to be so crude about it, so "controversial"? It was like telling an artilleryman to load his gun with ping-pong balls. After a while we simply ignored these official repinings, asking ourselves, "how stupid and scared can they get?"

We learned, soon enough. Early in 1953 Senator McCarthy and his aides, who tragically misunderstood the nature of the problem, launched an investigation of the Voice of America, which he regarded as a Communist-infested boondoggle. Despite my frantic back-of-the-scenes efforts to enlighten them (I was then a "Taft Republican"), the attack centered on Bertram Wolfe, who was directing our truth offensive as chief of the Voice's "Ideological Advisory Unit."

Wolfe, an able and most informed ex-Communist scholar and historian, had been conscripted for Cold War service on the propaganda front by Gen. Bedell Smith. As a result of the investigation, our propaganda offensive was stopped in its tracks on the eve of Stalin's death—the greatest propaganda opportunity in the history of the Voice. An incredible directive, signed by John Foster Dulles himself, forbade us even to mention the name of Joseph Stalin in our broadcasts.

Within three months there was no more need for Soviet jamming. The Voice had been silenced at its source. Our budget was abolished, Wolfe's staff dispersed, and the demoralized agency removed from the aegis of the State Department.

Victory by Default

It has never been the same again. During the past decade, Moscow and Peiping have enormously increased both their propaganda broadcasting and their jamming of the relatively meager, lagging and officially inhibited efforts of the Voice, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Communism has won a succession of propaganda victories virtually by default, although the ammunition for a successful Free World truth offensive has been steadily accumulating. Today we have, but are not using, not only the truth about the Free World's cause, which Khrushchev won't let his people hear, but the even more dangerous truth of disaffection and frustrated revolt which is still endemic everywhere back of the Iron and Bamboo curtains.

Khrushchev brought in the thaw; a wind of freedom blew over frozen Russia. It whirled above the roofs of Vorkuta and Kingir where prisoners by the thousands fought their guards in the snow and died beneath the tanks of the Red Army still shouting the slogans of freedom. It continued to blow when Khrushchev opened *some* of the slave labor camps and rehabilitated some of the surviving purge victims. It was blowing, harder than Khrushchev liked, when

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he had Stalin's body evicted from its resting place beside the still sainted Lenin. It blows today over the wide reaches of Central Asia where only yesterday the leaders of the Buddhist and Mohammedan minorities were jailed for plotting to overthrow their Marxist masters. It blows over the virgin lands where the sullen, disaffected Komsomols were sent to sow the dubious harvests that terror could not reap.

"Things are bad, very bad," shouted Khrushchev in January of 1960 when he fired Nicolai Belvaev, his viceroy for the virgin lands region of Soviet Kazakhstan. Things were in fact worse than *Pravda* had been prepared to admit when, three months before, three thousand young Communist pioneers, assigned to build a steel plant in the city of Tamir-Tau, had staged a strike that turned into a small rebellion. The pioneers were forced to live in tents, fed badly, and paid thirty cents a day while local laborers got ten times as much. Growing tension with the local Communist authorities exploded when the pioneers marched to a nearby market place and looted stores and kiosks. They caught and hanged the local police chief, set up barricades, and for the next ten days stood off the factory militia that was sent to subdue them.

The Young Intellectuals

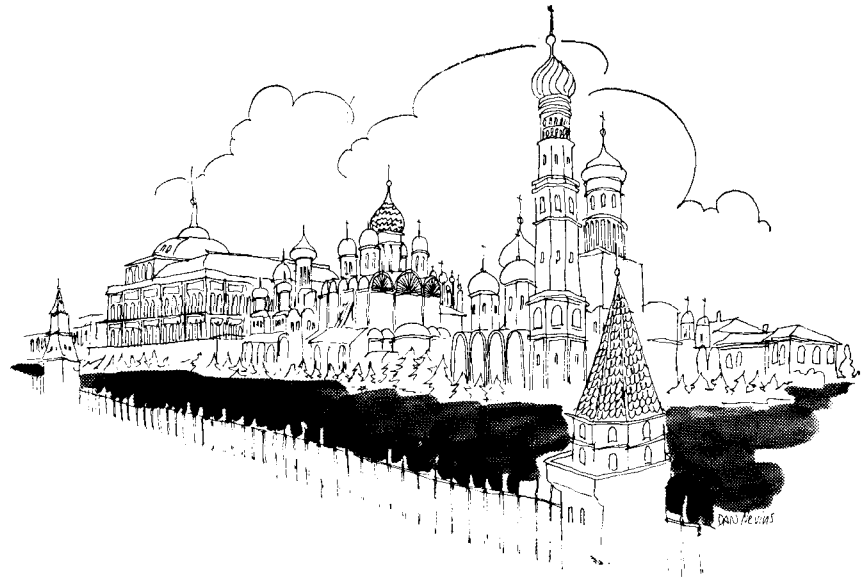
Khrushchev has treated the new generation of Soviet intellectuals, students, and writers somewhat more kindly than this. He asked them only to extoll the Communist regime, and was prepared to pay them handsomely. Perversely, they wrote instead Aesopian burlesques of "socialist realism." When Dudintsev's *Not by Bread Alone* caused a literary and political sensation, they staged what amounted to a revolt of the young intellectuals. In 1957, after the Hungarian revolt, the students at Moscow University adopted a resolution demanding that foreign broadcast jamming be stopped, that the foreign press be allowed free distribution, and that a two-party system be introduced in the Soviet Union. Their leaders were, of course, promptly arrested and given jail terms. When and if they emerge from jail they will doubtless join the cultural underground of poets, painters, novelists and literary critics that has shown its strength in the universities and may even infect the press and radio, the ideological nerve centers of the Communist dictatorship.

Thus far the number of Russians who understand the truth about the Cold War is pitiably small. Unlike the Communists, we have never considered propaganda to be a legitimate and necessary weapon. We don't know how effective the propaganda weapon could be because—umpteen millions of dollars notwithstanding—we have never tried seriously to find out. The principal Free World voices heard behind the Iron Curtain are those of VOA, Radio Free Europe (which broadcasts only to the Eastern European satellites), the BBC and Radio Liberty. The combined cost of their operations amounts to less than the estimated $111 million which Radio Moscow spends on jamming alone. It is at least conceivable that for perhaps five times that sum, the Voice of America and Radio Liberty could mount a propaganda offensive powerful enough to overwhelm Moscow's jamming defenses and multiply enormously our present Russian audience.

What, then, are we waiting for?

In Cold War, truth is still the first casualty. *Pravda*'s daily assassination of the truth is known and detested by the Russian people. The censorship of news plays a role almost as important as terror in fostering opposition to totalist dictatorship. In 1956 Yevgeny Zhago, a Yugoslav musician, escaped to the West after spending over a decade as a prisoner of war in Soviet slave labor camps and in a Siberian city. The Soviet people, he reported, have been lied to so much and so long that now they listen with open cynicism to their master's voice, saying, "In our country, according to the Soviet newspapers, there are no floods, no accidents, no fires—everyone sits quietly, and waits for the golden age of Communism."

The Russian people are sick of waiting. "It's wrong," declared the Moscow taxi driver who drove the departing Zhago to the station. "It's simply impossible to live this way any longer." Khrushchev, like Napolean, may "fail to see the necessity." The grim fact, is, of course, that two generations of ill-housed and ill-fed Russians *have* spent their lives in precisely this way.



There is no ironclad guarantee that by telling the Soviet peoples the truth about the dictatorship and the truth about the Free World we will enable them to change their condition. But it would certainly help. While it is unlikely that a major truth offensive directed at the Russian people would end the Cold War in the near future, by steadily eroding the structure of lies on which totalitarian rule is based, we might well shift the balance of power between East and West, and prepare our allies back of the Iron Curtain for their moment of truth.

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This Year at Mont Pelerin

LAWRENCE FERTIG

Newspapers did not report the meeting of the Mont Pelerin Society at Knokke, Belgium, in September. Yet the very fact that some two hundred economists, political scientists and other intellectuals of the non-Communist world were successful in surmounting some trying internal difficulties, and that they engaged in their annual wide-ranging, week-long discussions of world problems, may have considerably more influence on free-world thought than many events considered important by the press at that time.

To understand the significance of the Mont Pelerin Society it is necessary to know a few facts about its beginnings in 1947.

Recall if you will those early post-war years when government bureaucrats rode on the backs of every nation of the Western world—ordering wages, prices, allocation of resources, use of credit, etc. Those controls had grown up in wartime, and many people could scarcely understand how any society could exist without them. The principle that free people are more efficient in production and happier in their daily lives was widely doubted, even denied. It was against this bleak background that Mont Pelerin had its first meeting.

Friedrich Hayek issued the call, and could gather from the Western world no more than two score men of achievement who could be counted on to defend private capitalism, limited government and the free market. They met at the pleasant mountain village of Mont Pelerin in Switzerland. The philosophy of Ludwig von Mises had a powerful influence in this group, which included some distinguished figures of Europe and the United States. Among them were Wilhelm Roepke and William Rappard of Geneva, Trygve Hoff of Norway and Mueller-Armack of Germany. From the United States came Ludwig von Mises, Frank Knight, Milton Friedman and Henry Hazlitt.

Since that time, members of Mont Pelerin have left their mark on events. Economics Minister Erhard of Germany, with the guidance of Wilhelm Roepke, held Germany to the free-market course despite tremendous pressure for more collectivism. Four years ago in France Jacques Rueff had his influence in reorganizing the French economy, giving it a sound currency and curbing subsidies and controls. In recent years a startling development was the growth of a free-enterprise party in—of all places — India, where Dr. B. R. Shenoy, a Mont Pelerin member, gave it intellectual strength.

The Mont Pelerin Society takes no formal action, passes no resolutions and seeks no publicity. Its sole function is to bring together people who profoundly believe in the same principles. It provides them with an opportunity to probe each other's thoughts, to define more sharply their concepts and gain renewed courage.

Common Market Discussed

The meeting this year in Knokke followed the general tradition of Mont Pelerin gatherings—long, formal sessions morning and afternoon with addresses by distinguished scholars and some discussion on the floor. Lively talks continued at intimate private sessions which were even more fruitful and satisfying. Among subjects discussed were the Common Market, the revival of government planning and the growing Welfare State.

Although Mont Pelerin members view the world from a basic set of common libertarian principles, it would be folly to think they see eye-to-eye on all subjects. On some matters, such as monetary policy, it would be hard to find a corporal's guard in complete agreement. While academic formalities prevail at all meetings, clashes of opinion can be sharp. The European Common Market, for instance, had its supporters. To increase the area of freedom by uniting Europe in one vast free-trade group where goods, money and people are free to move without impediment is certainly beneficial. But to face the rest of the world with an exclusive trade bloc, as the free market does, is the other side of the coin which was exposed by some.

The recurrence of government planning for the economy, more than fifteen years after the war and despite the development of the most prosperous era in the Western world, needed some explanation. This has not been the result of demands by the public. It has been achieved by pressure from top-echelon government economists who believe they can efficiently run a country by their newly conceived mathematical equations. Fear was expressed that present "indicative" planning—or what might be called jawbone planning (the French type, today imitated by most of Europe)—can easily be turned into compulsory planning. The big stick of the state is always ready to assert its power when the plan goes wrong. Discussion centered around the concept of the Welfare State where, as Henry Hazlitt pointed out, "nobody provides for the contingency of his own unemployment, his own sickness, his own old age, but everybody provides for the unemployment, sickness and old age of everybody else."

This year Mont Pelerin members had to consider the future course of the Society itself. Many benefits can flow from addition to the rolls of a number of younger men in public work and academic affairs. Also it is recognized that the prestige of this organization and its individual members could be of great help to the valiant few who are trying to stem the collectivist tide in South America, Africa and the Far East. But while this expansion of membership and influence is deemed essential by some, there is little doubt that the very growth of this organization will change its character.

The intimate atmosphere of a select group of intellectual peers, good friends and philosophic companions may give way to the businesslike atmosphere of a professional convention. Although the Society represents a rather broad spectrum of opinion within the libertarian fold, the present philosophic unity of the group could be affected and its intellectual strength watered down. These are the risks inherent in expansion, yet the world is moving on and this seems to be the course the Society will take.

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Letter from the Continent

The "Enigmatic" General

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

President de Gaulle's triumphant tour of Germany aroused bitter, though not too articulate, opposition among the German Socialist Democrats, who were ignored at all official receptions, and also among the members of the Free Democratic Party, who were not too happy either at Chancellor Adenauer's cashing in on the visit. Demonstrators, dressed in the local costumes of the lost eastern provinces of Germany, picketed de Gaulle with posters from time to time in protest against his statement, some time back, that the Oder-Neisse line was a permanent boundary. The German press also remarked repeatedly that de Gaulle should have visited Berlin and that his avoidance of the former German capital was a genuine flaw in the arrangements.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Yet, granted these caveats, the trip was a tremendous personal success for de Gaulle and also for Adenauer since it became a noisy acclamation of *der Alte*'s foreign policy. The French public was partly proud, but also partly puzzled and uneasy, at the loud and enthusiastic demonstrations by the German masses. These had not been *quite* expected. It did not *quite* fit in with the general French picture of the Germans. In select French circles there has always existed a great respect for German thought and German art, but the masses, although by no means as hostile to Germany as the British and Americans think, always have shown a certain reserve. Not that the majority of the French now are convinced that Germany is their only true friend; such a radical change of mind has not taken place. But there is real willingness to assess the Germans afresh: to examine them *à fond* with a view toward discovering new traits which might solve the riddle of the German character.

De Gaulle himself played his part extremely well in Germany and proved an expert actor. The German police were in despair as he mixed with the people, shaking hands and exchanging phrases, exposing himself to every imaginable danger. The sun shone only on the last day. Had it been otherwise, the enthusiastic masses might have trampled each other to death. Even so, shop windows went to pieces.

De Gaulle is so often hard to figure. He may contradict himself repeatedly during his lifetime (and sometimes even within one year), he may drop old friends, acquire new ones, grievously disappoint those who trust him, prove an unreliable partner; but to the serious and systematic student of his personality he is by no means enigmatic.

A Far-Seeing Strategy

There is a hard and lasting core to de Gaulle and this is true of his character as well as of his views. His greatest assets are his courage and his thinking in terms of a very far-seeing strategy. He really wants to make history, and not politics. While his strategy is permanent, his tactics change. When de Gaulle, rightly or wrongly, came to the conclusion (a long time before he said so openly) that Algeria was a dead weight for France, he cut his losses regardless of the consequences. Such radical solutions involve grave injustices to those who have trusted France (Christians, Jews, and Moslems alike), but de Gaulle, who has a strong belief in himself and in Providence, is an autocratic man with a cold heart. The fate of the *harkis* (Moslem auxiliaries in the French army in Algeria) who are now being burned alive by the Algerian nationalists does not seem to trouble the General's sleep unduly. Like his friend Adenauer, he is *by nature* dictatorial; the moderation of these two men is not due to their innate character but to their religious convictions, which is quite a different matter. The liking of each for the neighbor across the Rhine is of old standing; Adenauer, like almost all Rhinelanders, has a soft spot for France, and de Gaulle as early as 1947 was saying that the Germans had to be brought into the European family.

De Gaulle, not an extremely lovable man, is not even a personification of the Christian statesman. His self-centered pragmatism and lack of magnanimity prevent him from embodying such an ideal. He is, however, a highly gifted man, a good orator, a first-rate author, a brilliant military expert, an excellent historian. He is one of the few men in the West who know how to handle Khrushchev and yet he has no conception of the dangers of Communism *per se*. It is on this miscalculation that history may end up judging him.

His last constitutional effort is highly significant: a new law which stipulates that the President be elected by the people. It would be a *fatal error to think that his own* desire for aggrandizement or boundless admiration for the American constitution are determining factors in this case. De Gaulle is convinced that parliamentary democracy in the republican framework is a doomed form of government. Hence his absolute rejection of an all-powerful, all-European parliament. His vision of the European Confederacy foresees at the top a premium of Heads of State—effective presidents and monarchs. The strong presidency which de Gaulle advocates means, from the viewpoint of French history, something quite different from American traditions, but quite familiar to educated Frenchmen. Actually, what de Gaulle tries to do is most paradoxical: to carry out, with the reluctant aid of the moderate Left and the Center, the age-old plan of the Right, which now by and large opposes him. For his final plans, however, he will also need the support of the army—of an army which has ceased to understand or even trust him. Will this man, so successful in forcing people against their own inclinations to work for him, really win this skin game? He might.

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Some Reflections on Envy

European snootiness about America and things American, says a sharp observer, conceals an insatiable appetite for Coca-colanization

GEOFFREY WAGNER

"Of course," said the solemn French student beside me, "it's forbidden to read Sartre in American colleges today."

I blinked at the wheel and glanced over this pleasant, lanky youth I had picked up on Route Nationale 7 near Valence. He was studying geology at Marseille. He had on a leather poncho, "Rough Rider" jeans, and was enormously proud of his Chesterfield Kings. Shearing and Garner were, musically speaking, his gods.

I remember considering whether to tell him that not only was Sartre read in American colleges, but even left unread; that Sartre's plays (including one travesty of American life) were constantly performed in New York, and that the man himself had been invited to more than one university there to lecture (his fees being said to be on the capitalistic side). Then I shrugged. It would be impossible to disillusion him.

The Local Philosophy

There is a certain kind of French intellectual who needs a blanket idea of American culture for the local philosophy to operate. So often I had found it a waste of time to advance factual data to the contrary—as that we allowed Harold Laski to teach here fourteen years, invited an admitted former Communist (in Stephen Spender) to lecture at Sarah Lawrence, a confessed anarchist (in Sir Herbert Read) to assume the Charles Eliot Norton Professorship at Harvard, and gave the Christian Gauss Lectureship at Princeton to V. S. Pritchett, who promptly returned the compliment by writing of Americans:

> Why they should not be originally creative is puzzling. It is possible that the lack of organic sense, the conviction that man is a machine . . . turns them into technicians and cuts them off from the chaos, the accidents and intuitions of the creative process.

Such facts would simply be evidence of a latitude which the new Common-Market intellectual, watching European man turn into a machine far less protestingly than his American counterpart, feels called on today to resist. It is understandable, and it applies especially to the agricultural French, whose standards of discrimination seem low in the face of the encroaching technology. It has often been remarked how their vocabulary has gone West (*le blue-jeans, la surprise-party*) but more instructive is it to attend to the ecstatic reception accorded a phenomenon like Elvis Presley, from the bikini-clad Circes of the summer *plages* to the socialites in stretch pants in St. Moritz. By now, of course, France has produced its own, more frantic Presley in Johnny Hallyday, but it is still true to say that in Europe Presley is enjoyed without the stigma of what he stands for. Why has he succeeded so much more than someone like, say, Lloyd Price?

The answer is that Presley is simply seen as more extremely American than other popular singers they hear. I recently watched a parody of Presley in a St. Trop' boîte, but it was a satire of a style of singing, not of what that style is said to stand for in America. In short, a far higher social milieu in Europe, including upper Bohemia, finds Presley "advanced." For a long while, play me *un hot* on the Riviera, or play me *un rock* meant simply *un Elvis*.

In America it was a mark of lack of sophistication to admire Presley at a moment when the reverse obtained in France; the irony perhaps was that while high Bohemia was finding these barbaric yawps "up-to-date," they were bitterly repudiating American technological innovations which may well have accounted for much of Presley's effects! In any event, you were looked at askance if you made the suggestion that Elvis Presley was not quite America's favorite singer. That destroyed a cherished illusion. You could not be correct. In other words, for the French the capitulation to technology threatens those large, overriding absolutes which have usually governed their intellectual life*; pluralism does not menace American *nationalité*, but the French boy I

* "The vocation of France is to remain not only a nation but also a power. There is no French nation without aspiration toward a certain grandeur."
—Michel Debré, launching the *France*.

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gave a ride to was typical in his division of this country into a) Americanism as representing a technology that could be regarded as beneficial, "progressive," and adaptable to French absolutes, and b) Americanism as representing the real menace of a kind of pluralism France has never known. Including racial pluralism. For I recall, just before I put him off, he turned to me and made the remark I must have heard from dozens of Europeans last year—"Of course, your great problem in America is the terrible color bar." I refrained from asking him what Freedom Riders had driven through Algeria, etc., and drove on.

There is no appeal from that kind of thinking, a combination often enough of high-level ratiocination and closed absolutes, not unreminiscent of Sartre himself. Take radio, for instance. French and Italian commercials today seem to me far crasser than the worst we have to offer. *Cosa beve, Signora?* GO! The GO mineral-drink ads in Italy or the universal Camay jingles (CAMAY *seduce, seduce, seduce-tre volte!*) seem today to haunt the air you breathe in Europe and semantically attain a new idiocy. Yet when I told my French friends I regularly listened to a UAW radio program from six to seven a.m. in New York, which was considerably more liberal than anything I'd heard on the air in France, they simply wouldn't believe me. In England, of course, thanks to the language similarity, this anti-Americanism (for such it is) seems more aesthetic than philosophic. Thanks to a fine opinion-forming press, their intelligentsia understands more and more what America is about; however, the language difference itself pinpoints the problem. It is hard for a university-educated Englishman not to regard American English as a dialect in the sense of a pejorative corruption of a mother tongue. In fact, the relationship is far more fraternal than that, our retention of the -en past participle (*gotten, proven*), or of the original connotations of many words (like *mad*), being of course purer than current British usage. Indeed, our very pronunciation itself, which to upper-class English ears sounds so inferior, is probably in many respects closer to older forms. This is notable in the American emphasis on each syllable, as against the British stress of one syllable and subsequent scanting of the rest (try *literature* or *military* on any English friend).

Shudder of Disdain

How well I recall my first years in this country when, prepared by a directive education, I literally *heard* American as pejorative. The ease with which Chaucerian English or Burns' Doric was grasped by country American students was, I think, one of the first signs to make me think. Yet this preparation alone can sensitize one to that kiss of death in the British press that a phrase like "transatlantic flavor" (used, say, of a book) carries for an Arts-degree audience there. It is the Britisher's *frisson* before an urbanization which, by being distanced to America, can be hated harder; and it is the upper-class English drawing-room's revulsion from an obviously successful socialism, soon to be upon them. It is, in short, W. H. Auden, shuddering (though not therefrom induced to return to his motherland) before

> the unspeakable jukeboxes, the horrible Rockettes and the insane salads, nearer to the anonymous countryside littered with heterogeneous dreck and the synonymous cities besotted with electric signs, nearer to radio commercials and congressional oratory and Hollywood Christianity, nearer to all the "democratic" lusts and licenses. . .

That's frankness itself! Unfortunately, much of the passage might apply today to parts of North Italy, most of Germany, and a good deal of France. As for "Hollywood Christianity," I recall the *Times Literary Supplement*'s being amused at the "naiveté" of thousands of Americans buying inspirational books at a moment when thousands of phlegmatic Britons were bawling their eyes out in front of Billy Graham in Harringay Arena.

"The Americans are our masters," declared Dean Inge some while ago already, and the British naturally do not like it. However, this is not merely a matter of political prestige. As Harry Levin has had it, "England, long declining into a second-class power, has begun her decline into a second-class culture." The sophisticated British intellectual does not resent the political decline of his country so much as its cultural impotence before the new technology; for this technology, spurred on by Common Market ties, is already predigested in America. We are, in other words, demonstrably closer to Pritchett's "creative process" of the future.

Needless to say, this is to usurp the traditional British position, and it would be jejune to deny that some very nasty envy does persist in England. It may be the lifted eyebrow of an Alan Ross referring to Sir Osbert Sitwell's affection for America as "surprising," or it may take the grosser form of the man in the pub eyeing the American and breathing the stale crack, "The trouble with the Yanks is they're overfed, oversexed and over here." And if you think you have heard that before, you have. Try a version of it given by Eric Linklater, speaking through his Dora in *Don Juan in America:*

> Well, even though they've got motor cars and clean faces and no holes in their stockings, I don't like Americans as well as English people and never shall, so there! They're callous and boastful and noisy, and you know they are.

With the Common Market, though, Europeans are going to have even cleaner faces and more motor cars and still fewer holes in their stockings than we. Already most German towns are far more homogeneous and "conformist" than our own, in which a dissident minority nearly always surfaces somewhere or other. It is sad that English attitudes show this uncertainty, but England deeply fears the new pluralism (I would much

(Continued on p. 330)

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Religion

The "Separation" of Church and State

WILL HERBERG

In the television debate between Gore Vidal and William F. Buckley Jr. on *Open End* some weeks ago, I was greatly struck by the assurance with which Mr. Vidal made apodictic pronouncements on all manner of things that were simply not so. Apparently the Liberal line, like some gnostic formula, reveals the final truth about everything without subjecting one to the necessity of consulting the facts of the case. I am tempted to illustrate this point from Mr. Vidal's remarks on education, social discrimination, our constitutional system, and other matters that came up in the interminable two hours; but I think I had better restrict myself to that phase of the running debate that most concerns us in this column—the school prayer issue, and the larger question of the relation of Church and State under the Constitution. Mr. Vidal, if I remember him correctly (I have no transcript before me), simply took it for granted that the First Amendment decreed the unequivocal *separation* of Church and State, and categorically barred the Federal Government (and, through the Fourteenth Amendment, the state governments as well) from engaging in any way in the "religion business." Obviously, school prayers had to be outlawed because every connection between religion and government was unconstitutional. This was Mr. Vidal's position, reiterated several times during the discussion, in a manner suggesting that only a bigot or a stupid conservative could possibly question so patent a fact.

Herberg

Mr. Vidal's untroubled self-assurance on this matter, as on others, was impressive; and I do not want to spoil the aesthetic effect. But life and history have a way of obtruding themselves. It must have occurred to many listeners as they heard these confident words about the government being barred from engaging in the "religion business," that, at the very moment these words were being uttered, the government was in fact engaged in selecting, commissioning, and paying religious functionaries to carry on religious work: I refer to chaplains in the armed forces, in prisons, and in many state universities. If that isn't the "religion business," what is it? Facts are unpleasant things, and the Liberal dream world does very prudently in avoiding them.

The fact of the matter is that, for all the varying interpretations of the First Amendment, the American people have never intended to make this country into a laic state, and the First Amendment does not do so. The laic state, which first emerged on the Continent toward the end of the nineteenth century, may best be defined in the formula taken from the Soviet decree on religion issued in 1918: "Religion is a private matter and the State can take no cognizance of the religion of its citizens." This may make sense to Russian Communists and "emancipated" Frenchmen, but it makes no sense whatever, and has never made any sense, to the overwhelming majority of Americans. The American consensus is well expressed in Justice Douglas' dictum in the *Zorach* case (1952): "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." This consensus has put our government—or, rather, I should say our governments, for the states must be included—into the "religion business" with a vengeance, and that is where it is, despite Mr. Vidal's naive conviction.

I have already indicated that our government, federal and state, has for many decades been selecting, commissioning, and paying religious functionaries (chaplains) to carry on religious work. It has been constructing religious edifices (chapels) for religious use at defense and merchant marine installations. Our government exempts churches and church property from taxation. It pays the tuition and expenses not merely of many students in church-related colleges, but even of theological students in ecclesiastical seminaries—under the G.I. Bill of Rights and similar legislation, where money follows the student (veteran or service orphan) wherever he goes. The Federal Government—and this I recommend particularly to Mr. Vidal's horrified attention—imposes compulsory chapel attendance on the men at West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Academy.

The First Amendment

This list of breaches in the "high and impregnable wall of separation between Church and State" could be extended indefinitely. But the point, I think, is quite clear. In the mind of the American people, and in the practice of the American Government, the First Amendment does not mean, and never has meant, any blanket prohibition barring the government from engaging in this "religion business," or forbidding it to cooperate with, or even assist, religion in certain of its activities. The First Amendment does mean, of course, that there should not be "an establishment of religion" (a State Church); it does mean that whatever cooperation with, or assistance to, religion the government engages in must not involve interference in the inner affairs of the churches and must not be discriminatory: the government may not show partiality as among the various religious groups. ("The historical record shows clearly," the eminent constitutional authority, Edward S. Corwin, explains, "that the core idea of 'an establishment of religion' comprises the idea of *preference;* and that any act of public authority favorable to religion in general cannot, without a falsification of history, be brought under the ban of that phrase.") And, above all, the government must not go "too far."

How far is "too far"? To this, I think, no abstract answer is possible. Were each of the violations of the rigid separation of Church and State to which I have called attention—the government's financing religious in-

(Continued on p. 330)

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Whose Opinion is World Opinion?

"World Opinion" is merely the expression of the dogmas of the Libintern, the international apparatus of the Establishment

J. D. FUTCH

Down the road a piece—maybe next century or so—some curious professor of history may look into the question whether American policy in the 1950s and (no doubt) in the 1960s was really in fact determined by, or merely excused by, the imperatives of World Opinion.

Easy enough, you'll say. Nehru plus Nkrumah minus Tshombe equals World Opinion. 2n –t = WO. That's what Nkrumah thinks, and Nehru knows it, so what's the problem?

Problem is, there's more than one nigger in the woodpile. You and I, dear reader, may think world opinion means one thing, but when the phrase comes prancing toward us dressed fit to kill in capital letters, World Opinion is identical with the policy of a global apparatus lightly but skillfully manned by an informal staff of political, journalistic, and academic brainwashers and con men comprising what might be called the Liberal International. If it so please you, the Libintern.

The old Comintern operated by stealth, beyond the law, underground. The Libintern openly dominates public affairs in almost every country of the Western world. (Not all: Spain and Portugal, as examples, are not as yet "emancipated" from their errors). Like the Comintern, though, the Libintern labors in the interest of Moscow—not as an open channel of Kremlin propaganda and sabotage, but as a talky little marionette trying to establish a new Western spirit of the times. Both have functioned as fifth columns, the Libintern more effectively than the Comintern because it has never avowed its ultimate aims or its true character (largely through its own ignorance of them) and because its unconcealed maneuvers involve the most authoritative opinion-forming and policy-molding persons and bodies in the state.

As the Establishment stands in the United States, so the Libintern in the free world. It is the Establishment that keeps American policy shackled to the United Nations; that has fixed "integration" as a National Goal at all costs, quite beyond dispute and open to question only as to ways and means of realization; that has determined forever that the governmental power to tax shall be used to reshuffle private assets along socio-political lines; and that has vested in the state the responsibility for the material comfort of the citizens.

Libintern Credo

It is the Libintern that claims supranational authority for the United Nations and its subsidiaries; that denies to the Great Powers the permission and even the right to protect their subjects and property from assault in colonial or ex-colonial territories; that denies to any power the moral right to hold colonies in the first place—because, while all cultures are equal, the West's is a little less equal; that forbids the West to expand, but asserts that the Soviet sphere must not be arrested in its expansion except by nuclear warfare; that calls nation-states the fossils of modern history while the world-state (such as Russia's) is in the direct line of necessary and inevitable historical development; and that says the use of nuclear weapons on the last day of the Cold War will be unthinkable and the surrender of the West unavoidable.

This they believe.

And the uncomplaining masses of people are slapped with this jargon every day of the year from newspaper editorial offices, radio and television newsrooms, college lecture halls and grade-school classrooms, women's clubs and student associations, labor union meeting platforms, publicity and advertising agencies, and movie screens. Not to mention pulpits.

But World Opinion, the pap of the Libintern, should not be confused with public opinion in given countries. There's the American opinion on Cuba, British opinion on retaining nuclear arms, German opinion on cooperating with France. Within the past six months two European writers, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn and Anthony Lejeune, have described the wide gap between private opinions of the people and the published opinions of politicians and the press. And, at home, who knows whether the American public actually endorses or even knows about the economic fantasies of Professor John Kenneth Galbraith? The Libintern knows: it points to the vote on November 8, 1960 as proof that a huge segment of World Opinion has just subscribed (by an underwhelming 50.12 per cent) to the Galbraith mystique. And having called Galbraith the equivalent of World Opinion, they rub it in: "We can't buck World Opinion, can we? It's the law of the world!"

Well, yes and no. Yes (we can), and no (it isn't).

It's all a matter of saying, "No, Virginia, there isn't any World Opinion. There are only Father Huddleston, Susskind, U Thant, the multi-nation neutralist gang, the two saints (Albert Schweitzer and Mayor La Pira), the Nehru-Nkrumah cartel, the *Manchester Guardian*, Colonel Nasser, CBS News, Signor Fanfani, the World Federalists, Professor Jeanson and the 121 French Intellectuals *contre l'Algérie Française*, Bertrand Russell, Linus Pauling, Dr. Toynbee, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, the Fund for the Republic, Cyrus Eaton, and—don't forget, Virginia—Chester Bowles.

There's always Chester Bowles, and there's always the Libintern. This is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Little Shops and Socialist Capitalism

On the edge of Dartmoor, in England, the ancient town of Newton Abbot is threatened by "progress." The urban council which governs the place is considering a wholesale demolition of the heart of Newton Abbot, and the replacement of the handsome old butter market, many independent and long-established shops, the town hall, and other buildings by a vast "development" of offices and chain stores financed by London speculators. Everyone in Newton Abbot who feels affection for the charm of the old town and its environs is up in arms against the scheme. But the Labor members of the council, especially, are enthusiastic about the destruction of the old and the erection of "project" buildings costing more than a million pounds. As in American "urban renewal" projects, the public authority would condemn the buildings at present situated on the redevelopment sites, and hand over the land to London finance companies.

Kirk

Thus the established small businesses of Newton Abbot would be liquidated by compulsion, and their place taken by "multiple shops," chain stores, whose profits would be drained off to the metropolis. Local initiative and benefaction would wither gradually. And the beauty of the town center, unaltered since 1843, would yield to a standardized mass commercialism.

Throughout Britain this sort of "improvement" is going on. Big London finance companies, contractors, and chain store executives, having discovered that there is real money to be made in the old market towns, are pushing in by political leverage and economic promises. Most of the managers and stockholders in these concerns never see the country towns they despoil — and which, perhaps, they ruin architecturally. In London, the owners of shares get bigger dividends; and often the Labor people are made happy, at least temporarily, by flashy new shops and vague notions of "progress."

The same process has been at work in egalitarian Sweden for a generation: it has been called "the unholy alliance of socialism and big business." As Mr. Desmond Fennell wrote recently, "the Swedish Socialists sold out forty years ago." Socialist taxation prevents the emergence of new competing firms, and destroys small family businesses; but it is allied with the impersonal "private" corporations that produce a high degree of standardized prosperity.

Cul-de-Sac

What with monopolistic trade unions and high rates of taxation — which, especially in the matter of inheritance taxes, fall far more heavily upon small business than upon big— the old-fangled entrepreneur, "the man of property," feels pushed to the wall. And now the powers of government, on either side of the Atlantic, are employed to take away his property—paying, often, only nominal compensation—and hand it over to big-scale "developers" who will absorb it permanently into their empire. This happens again and again with American "urban renewal": I think, for instance, of a Nashville theater owner who, believing in slum clearance and civic improvement, turned over his two buildings to the renewal authority—and then was informed, after his property had been cleared, that he could be allowed sites nowhere in the "redeveloped" area—for every site had been promised to big outside interests.

We have in America certain professed enthusiasts for "capitalism" (a Marxist word, by the way) who see no harm at all in bigness: among them are persons as much at odds, nominally, as Mr. David Lilienthal and Miss Ayn Rand. So long as the means of production remain in the hands of private corporations, why worry about questions of scale, or even of competition?

But this is to ignore the fact that there can come about a "capitalistic" socialism, just as there can be state socialism and state capitalism: and no one of these three is a healthy condition for society. Karl Marx prophesied that private enterprise would become increasingly monopolistic, until eventually only a few great "capitalist" corporations would remain; and then the triumph of Communist revolutionaries would be easy; for the men of property who once held stubbornly to their own would have given way to mere managers, without courage or interest to defend "capitalism"; and "capitalistic" managers can be supplanted by commissars overnight.

Through policies of taxation, through the exemption of labor unions from laws intended to check combinations in restraint of trade, and through the foolish and meaningless appetite of some entrepreneurs for mere size, we twentieth-century folk are unwittingly fulfilling the prediction of Marx. And almost no one looks closely into the process. We talk vaguely, in America and Britain, about the difficulties of small business, and even about great subsidies in aid of the little entrepreneur, sometimes. Yet we continue down the path of consolidation, thoughtlessly. We need, for instance, a careful and impartial survey of the ways in which the present capital-gains tax makes it possible and highly profitable for Cash McCall and Willis Wade to absorb long-established and respectable firms, abruptly, into some enormous and fundamentally irresponsible syndicate, dedicated only to immediate profits.

Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party ever will win a national election in America. But it is quite conceivable that the gigantic corporation, the gigantic union, and the gigantic state bureaucracy might give us the dreariest form of socialism, without ever using the word.

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Learned Lemming of Appeasement

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Many years ago, a wise teacher warned me: "Most people think logically enough. They differ in their basic assumptions." This bit of advice came back in reading the Edward Douglass White Lectures on Citizenship at Louisiana State University in 1961, which Professor Schuman of Williams College has now brought out as his little volume on the Cold War.

Frederick L. Schuman is a political science product of the late Charles E. Merriam at the University of Chicago. He has traveled much, read everything, and he writes well. He opposed German National Socialism effectively. He has published three previous books about the Soviet Union. One might have expected him to be in the front rank of the defenders of freedom against creeping Communist totalitarianism. Instead, he stands with those who, by urging concessions to "fanatical disciples of a cult of revolutionary subversion and messianic universalism" (his expression), are leading the American people to a place where we shall have to fight a catastrophic war or surrender.

He is a disciple of D. F. Fleming, another wrong-headed American professor, whose work, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, Schuman proclaims to be a "monumental and definitive work—the best account in print of the follies and frustrations in which Americans and Russians alike [note the phony parallelism] have involved themselves." Fleming's thesis is simply that since the USSR had every right to expand into East Europe (and to help communize China), Truman started the Cold War by his refusal to follow FDR's wise policy of allowing Stalin to annex anything he felt necessary to Russia's security.

The Cold War: Retrospect and Prospect, by Frederick L. Schuman. Louisiana, $3.50

DISCIPLE Schuman is less explicit. He admits that "Communism is the enemy." He writes: "Our customary stereotypes lead us to suppose that America means freedom, that Russia means slavery; that America means democracy, that Russia means dictatorship; that America means private business and Russia means socialism; that America means respect of the individual and that Russia makes the individual the tool of the state." These things are, he concedes, true on "a certain level of distinction" (meaning that of fact?). But what really matters to him is—get this—that both societies are in the line of a "cultural convergence" and will "prove to be strikingly similar in their impact on human lives." For "we do in truth move toward the same end."

And anyhow, although Lenin "created the first totalitarian police state," which became a model for fascists, that was not inherent in Marx's teaching. Nonetheless, after "appalling waste, frightful mistakes, hideous injustices and crimes," the Communist rulers have made Russia "enormously productive." Its real challenge to the United States, Schuman feels sure, is economic, not military. Hence "a continuation of the arms race and continued preparations for war constitute an irrational and quite insane formula for the probable suicide of the human race." Our military intervention in Vietnam is the result of a delusion.

The alternative—"to those of us still capable of constructive cerebration," like Schuman—lies in fruitful diplomacy and agreement and in the promotion of ever more neutral nations "as a contribution to peace." Such efforts, if we undertake them honestly, are bound to succeed since the Communists want nothing better. Says Schuman: "The rulers of Russia have learned . . . that Communism will never liberate or subjugate or unify all the world and that Communism's future fortunes . . . cannot be served by propaganda or by subversion or by revolution and least of all by war, but can be served only by demonstrating that the Communist system may be able to contribute more effectively to human health, wealth and happiness and ultimately *to human freedom.*"

A fine bold statement. But meanwhile anybody familiar with Soviet Communism must have seen that, particularly on the farm, it relies on continual coercion. Khrushchev has flaunted his intention of "burying" the capitalist world, notably by "little wars of liberation" of which our author seems not to have heard. Hence one can only assume that like those other nervous Americans who, before 1939, accepted Hitler's word that he "was not dreaming" of starting a war, Fritz Schuman is merely repeating what he wants to believe. Being a political scientist, he has to bolster his wishful thought with something that looks like scholarship. Accordingly, behind his fear that war, not "Communism *per se*," is our chief danger, lies an ingenious theory of Russian history. It runs roughly like this:

Soviet imperialism (which the rulers are now ready to relinquish?) and international Communism are "new forms of very old purposes in the Russian community." They were not simple land hunger (like American

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expansion into the West), but the result of weakness and the desire to catch up with European civilization! In the same category are Russian-Soviet autocracy and despotism. The conclusion is that Stalin's wartime grabs were a justified form of resistance, first against an anticipated Nazi attack and later against the possibility of a recrudescence of German power. (By the same token, of course, Britain early in 1939 should have seized Scandinavia and the Low Countries, France have occupied Switzerland and Northern Italy.)

Anyhow, according to this Williams College professor, Stalin, after capitalizing on the consequences of Munich, did not violate the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements but only "the Anglo-American interpretation of those highly ambiguous and imprecise agreements." (See the difference?) And the Cold War is simply the consequence of Russian determination to keep what it seized and "of Western determination, so far unsuccessful, to undo or reverse" these seizures. And here we are back to Schuman's admired Fleming, who said that the Cold War was all our fault and that once we accept Russia's grabs, all will be peace and understanding.

I MIGHT stop here except that Schuman closes his lectures by formulating "four lessons that we shall need to learn." Since I think that three of the four are fictions, it may be worthwhile to summarize and answer them.

First, I agree that no progress in disarmament is possible before we have a settlement (Schuman says a "negotiated" settlement) of international problems.

Second, I do not agree that "no unification of Germany is possible except on the basis of some form of disengagement, disarmament and neutralization" of that country. To the contrary, unless the combined West manages fairly soon to pry Soviet claws off East Germany, the Germans will secede from NATO, go neutral and we shall have a nuclear war.

Third, in my judgment, it is not true that no liberation or relaxation of the Communist grip on the East European satellites is possible unless we neutralize them. Instead, self-determination for the satellites has to be a condition of any peace settlement with a reformed USSR.

Finally, it would be nice to believe Schuman's fourth lesson, namely, that we need to find a "large-scale economic substitute for the Cold War and the arms race," since a really united Atlantic Community could, to be vulgar, produce the pants off the Communist world; but I am convinced that until we of the West get over our exaggerated notions of the "enormous production" of the USSR and of its military power, and create and maintain an overwhelming military preponderance, we shall continue to move toward the very world war which men like Schuman are trying in such perverse ways to prevent.

The Most Dangerous Man

GARRY WILLS

ONE OF THE many puzzles in the life of that puzzling prelate, Cardinal Newman, is the fact that his great work of self-revelation and Catholic defense, the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, was called forth by a rather petty attack. Charles Kingsley said Newman taught that lying is sometimes justifiable; and, before Kingsley knew what had hit him, he was receiving an intimate account of Newman's entire life, a detailed discussion of the Catholic Church, and a masterpiece of English literature, all in one explosive package, the *Apologia*. It was fair for Kingsley to ask what relevance all this had to his original charge, and it is not surprising that some critics think Newman's punishment was out of all proportion to the offense. It is as if Marx had written *Das Kapital* because the local delicatessen had cheated him.

On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine, by John Henry Newman. Sheed and Ward, $3.00

Newman and Gladstone: The Vatican Decrees, edited by Alvan Ryan. Notre Dame, $1.95

Cardinal Newman: ". . . *delicacy makes for durability.*"

But Newman's choice of poor Kingsley as a target for his pent-up resentments was an apt one. The arguments of Kingsley went much deeper than the specific point raised. In the principles on which Kingsley proceeded, Newman saw the main threat to those truths for which he had fought all his life. Others had attacked Newman on much the same grounds as Kingsley, but against them Newman's hands had been tied. In Kingsley's challenge he saw a chance at last to justify himself before the hordes of other critics, especially those of his own faith, who had misrepresented his work.

Kingsley attacked his close study of the complexities of moral duty—in this case, the duty of telling the truth—as an excuse for *escaping* those duties. It was a tactic all too familiar to Newman. For making much the same kind of distinctions, he had encountered the hostility of Catholic critics, masked in great part, moving behind his back, creating suspicions rather than composing arguments. Newman looked honestly at the Church's history, and found that some theory of development was the only adequate way of accounting for that history. For this he was treated as a proto-modernist, dissolving the clear lines of dogma in historical relativism. He looked at the place of laymen in the Church, and took a stand opposed to the paternalistic views of some clergymen. For this he was removed from the

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editorial office of the *Rambler*, reported to Rome, and kept in a state of suspense that for five years stilled his pen. He looked at the *Syllabus of Errors*, the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, and the decrees of the Vatican Council—and then established the precise meaning of terms being used to support exaggerated claims for papal temporal power. For this he was attacked as a "minimizer" of papal prerogatives. It seemed that every time he tried to defend truths by defining them, he was represented as *attacking* those truths.

That is why he turned the massed artillery of his mind on Kingsley. At last he could answer, could present his career in its true light, could strike back at a hundred critics in the person of this cocky foe who had borrowed their arguments and forgotten their caution.

The central lesson of Newman's life is that refined reasoning on moral matters is the ally, not the enemy, of piety. It is a hard lesson, even now, and few grasp it. Enthusiast sects are scornful of a moral "minimism" that sets the precise conditions of sin; and they end in disastrous parodies of virtue, coupled with contempt for reason. Rationalists think that theology is not an activity properly reasonable; and when they see an intellect like Newman's in the service of theology, they think he must be, in his heart of hearts, one of them. The painful honesty with which Newman discussed any difficulty concerned with faith made Huxley call him a rationalist, and Swinburne call him an agnostic.

Those of Newman's own faith agreed, in a way. Acton thought him an equivocator; the theologian, Fr. Gillow, thought him heretical; Msgr. Talbot, liaison man between Pius IX and Cardinal Manning, called him "the most dangerous man in England." As recently as 1945 the priest who edits the *American Ecclesiastical Review* wrote an attack on Newman's "minimism," urging that Catholics no longer take seriously his misgivings on the conduct of those who tried to use the Vatican Council for their own ends.

But Catholics, and others, *are* studying Newman's "dangerous" works at last, especially as a new Ecumenical Council assembles at Rome. Pertinent writings are seeing the light of day after long neglect. These include his essay on the laity (*On Consulting the Faithful*), which caused more bitterness toward him than any other product of his pen. This essay has not been put between hard covers for an English-speaking audience since its first appearance in the *Rambler*. So influential, still, are the nineteenth-century fears of William Ward, editor of the *Dublin Review*, and the twentieth-century fears of Father Fenton, editor of the *American Ecclesiastical Review*.

The other reprint is of the famous "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," answering Gladstone's fears that the Vatican Council signaled a papal determination to interfere in political matters. Harold Laski called this "Letter" one of the three most penetrating studies of the problem of sovereignty in the English language. For those who think precision of intellect an odd partner of religious faith, this will seem a paradox. It is part of that larger, paradoxical truth—confirmed by the resurrection of Newman's "suspicious" works—that, in problems of the mind, delicacy makes for durability.

Portrait of the UN as Warmaker

MAURICE N. HENNESSY

The arbitrary efforts of the United States and the United Nations in the Congo appear to have relegated the rational to the unimportant. Reason has been replaced by an emotionalism more in keeping with the wave of nationalistic hysteria sweeping through Africa than with the objectivity the Congo chaos demands.

Rebels, Mercenaries, and Dividends: The Katanga Story, by Smith Hempstone. Praeger, $4.95

Smith Hempstone's book cuts adrift from emotion and sharply identifies some of the fallacies to which emotion gives rise. One of these is the belief that what articulate Africans think is best for twentieth-century Africa must be right, even though most Africans still live in near-primitive conditions; they are not automatically authorities on the areas of Africa outside their own special narrow environment.

Those of us who have lived the greater part of our lives in the African continent are only too well aware of the difficulties of knowing Africa and Africans and their problems even under the most ideal circumstances. We realize that most Africans have almost unsurmountable financial and geographic difficulties in studying even their own particular country. Smith Hempstone is probably conscious of this when he tells of a conversation with a "high, Washington-based State Department official with considerable responsibility for making American policy in Africa." During this discussion the official said: "The President has questioned almost every African leader who has visited Washington as to his views on Tshombe; all of them regard him as a stooge." But what African politician has not, at some time or another, earned that contemptuous sobriquet? Even Nkrumah, Africa's recent addition to its deity, did, when he was cooperating with Governor Arden Clarke during the days immediately preceding independence; so did many others, including Zik, Nyerere, and Mboya. Yet it was in reaction to this kind of attitude toward Tshombe that, as Smith Hempstone points out, the United States adopted its strong and illegal position regarding Katanga's secession—in the hope of pleasing the Afro-Asian bloc.

Hempstone surveys the Katanga dispute with a carefully reasoned exposition of the issues involved. Although he attaches considerable blame to the United States, it is on the United Nations that he places most of the responsibility for the present situation. He sees an organization supposedly dedicated to peace which has become involved in war and has even perpetrated atrocities which make war the scourge of humanity.

It is in his discussion of the sound tribal and economic reasons for Tshombe's determination to maintain control of Katanga while the remainder of the Congo was in chaos that Hempstone produces his strongest argument. He also cites a fre-

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quently forgotten basic fact about the Congo situation: "The fundamental rivalries today are exactly what they were in the sixteenth century." They are the struggles between the Lunda tribe, represented by Tshombe, and other tribes, particularly the Balubas.

The author's demand for a full inquiry into the actions of the two United Nations representatives responsible for the Katanga war—the Irishman, Cruise O'Brien, the United Nations' Special Representative in Katanga, and Mahmoud Khiari, the Tunisian Chief of the United Nations' Civil Operations in the Congo—will find many supporters. Their disagreement about the instructions received from headquarters (Hammarskjold died too soon to say which of them was at fault) caused death and destruction among innocent Africans. The Katanga operation was a colossal blunder which must raise doubt as to the efficacy of the UN.

Admitting "the desirability of union between the Congo and Katanga," Hempstone nonetheless fails to draw on recent African history, which provides a possible panacea for the Congo—federalism. Demanding independence in 1956, Nigeria found that when the time came it had failed to solve its internal and personal problems. When it finally found freedom in 1960, its federal constitution made it one of the more stable governments in Africa.

Science Fiction

Literati vs. Cognoscenti

THEODORE STURGEON

A COMPARISON between *The Hugo Winners* and *Spectrum* is inevitable and informative. They are of a size, of a price, and drawn from the same genre. They even share an author. So much for similarities; the differences are fascinating.

Spectrum, edited by Kingsley Amis and Robert Conquest. Harcourt, $4.50

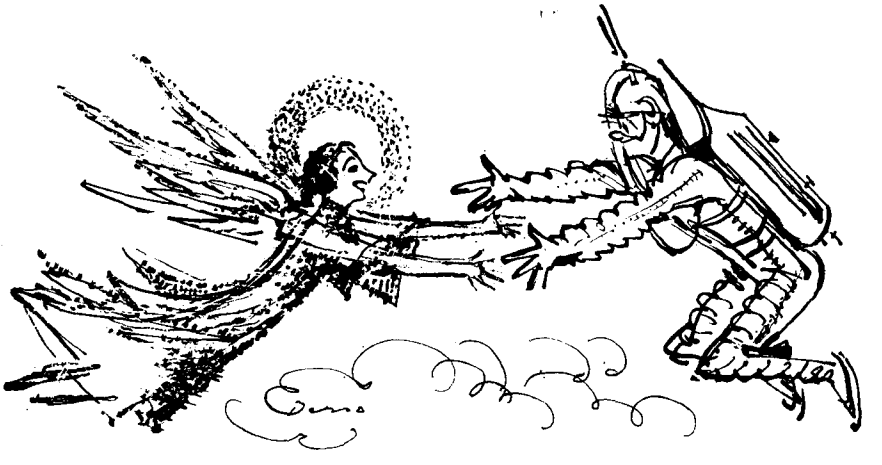
***The Hugo Winners*, edited by Isaac Asimov. Doubleday, $4.50**

Spectrum is an anthology personally chosen by two English gentlemen who profess interest in science fiction. They imply, in their introduction, knowledge of the field as well; one of them, as a matter of fact, has written a book about it. They indicate that their criteria include readability and appeal to the tyro, or "general," reader, and describe each of the specimens in this volume as "minor *tour de force*." They then, by the evidence of their choices, damage one, or another, or several of these assertions. Among other declarative remarks they make is that "perhaps a dozen contemporary practitioners seem to have attained the status of the sound minor writer whose example brings into existence the figure of real standing"—though they do modify this by stating that they do not mean "sound" and "minor" to be "maximum claims"—if that is a modification. It is as if the manager of a supermarket, having affirmed that the fish department was his hobby and his joy, put up a sign saying that the average customer would find little in it that was excellent and indeed not much that was fresh. It seems to us that this is carrying "soft sell" to a glutinous extreme.

It must be conceded that the quality of the selections is consistent with that kind of prologue; what is sad about this is that the writers are, with only one or two exceptions, among the best. That they reached these pages with lesser works is probably the result of the editors' apparent conviction that SF contains so little of literary worth that it is useless to seek out anything in it but ideation. The net impression is that Messrs. Amis and Conquest, in their dedicated disinterest in style, form, and cadence, are tone-deaf.

THE HUGO WINNERS, it says on the jacket, is edited by Isaac Asimov. It is not. The good doctor, a scientist (biochemistry), science writer (*The Intelligent Man's Guide to Science*), and SF writer (too prolific to list), has had his editing done for him, perforce, and gives us instead a conducted tour through "fandom," world SF conventions, and the source and substance of the Hugo. Named after the father of SF, Hugo Gernsback, the Hugo is the Oscar of the SF world. This book contains the nine Hugo winners in the short fiction category (a tenth has been awarded since publication). Selected from material published anywhere (not only in SF magazines) in the year preceding the convention, nominated by the votes of the convention membership, reduced thereby to the top five, and finally chosen by a second ballot, these works have had a thorough screening. The result is an anthology of superb stories, most of them beautifully written. If you can be moved by dramatic experience, you may well weep at certain of these narratives. If you can be provoked to thought and to revelation, if you have not lost your sense of wonder, you will reap a rich harvest in this book. *And you do not have to be a club member to get it.*

That the active, specializing, convention-going SF fan is capable of choosing better science fiction, and better fiction, than a couple of lauded literati, is a tempting conclusion. We resist it. These stories were selected first by magazine editors (each of



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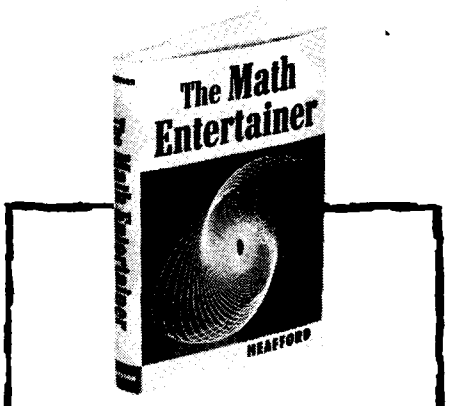

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whom Dr. Asimov credits) by criteria not necessarily the same as those used by the voting member, but always in the direction of product superiority. The later eliminations were acts of loyalty and of love; but most significantly, the spectrum of expertise was far wider, for the SF fan is not one thing with one set of tastes. And quite aside from the excellence of the stories in this wonder-full volume, the price of admission is more than paid by Dr. Asimov's tour; never losing his scientist's factuality, he ascends the scale from delightful to hilarious.

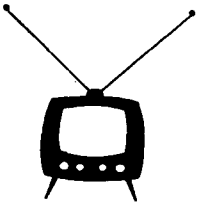
Television

60,000,000 Westerners Can't Be Wrong

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

NOW AND THEN of an evening I find myself drawn to the television machine. If I'm unusually possessed by intellectual curiosity, I may look at something besides cowboy shows, but the normal thing is to twist that knob until I get a good dusty road in view and maybe the sound of a lonesome harmonica or the clatter of hooves on the packed earth of the Old West . . .

In my declining years I have begun to see the truth in such glorious adventures as those of the Lone Ranger and Little Orphan Annie and Wyatt Earp and Dan Troop and Bat Masterson (although I have some reservations about *him*, which I'll discuss later). For they speak a language very close to the heart of the American Dream: the dream of righteousness, the flowering of personal virtue and the power that flows therefrom, the selfless battle against Evil, the simple moral code, the sense of community, the respect for the poor, for the downtrodden, for the tempest-tossed.



Consider: a well-known gunslinger shambles into town and puts up at the local hotel. He sops up some red liquor and starts wising off at the peaceful citizens. He takes off his boot and beats it on the bartop. The marshal puts an enormous hand on the bad man and says, "Get out of town." That's the kind of thing a hundred million Americans would like to see someone do to Nikita Khrushchev. Instead, we roll out the Red Carpet.

Consider the honest but desperately poor family of tenant farmers on the big spread about to be taken over by a gang of cattle thieves. One of the mob (puffy, perspiring, loose in the joints) comes around at night (it is always at night) and tells them that if they go along with the evil scheme the mob has in mind they'll make out real handsome. The honest, God-fearing man of the house draws himself up straight and says, "Get off this land, mister." The slimy character pulls a gun. The farmer says, "That won't do no good, mister. I've worked this land and I know what I want out of it and nobody in God's Kingdom can tell me different." Several thousand city officials throughout this country would all do us a service if they took this attitude toward the schemes the Federal Government has for making over the face of the country in the image of Washington (D.C., alas; not George).

When Wyatt comes up with a difficult moral decision, nobody tells him, "Wait, Wyatt, there's two sides to this question. Maybe the guy suffered from a bad environment in his youth, maybe we should give him occupational therapy, maybe we should look to the values he has been taught in Cheyenne (or Denver) and try to Understand, Understand!" But NO says Wyatt, the dirty lowdown gunslinger is a dirty lowdown gunslinger and the hell with it! This is the kind of law that might (I say might: for who knows what horrible things I've suffered from in my environment?) go a long way toward squelching the juvenile gunslingers in our modern cities. It always works on Channel 4. I don't

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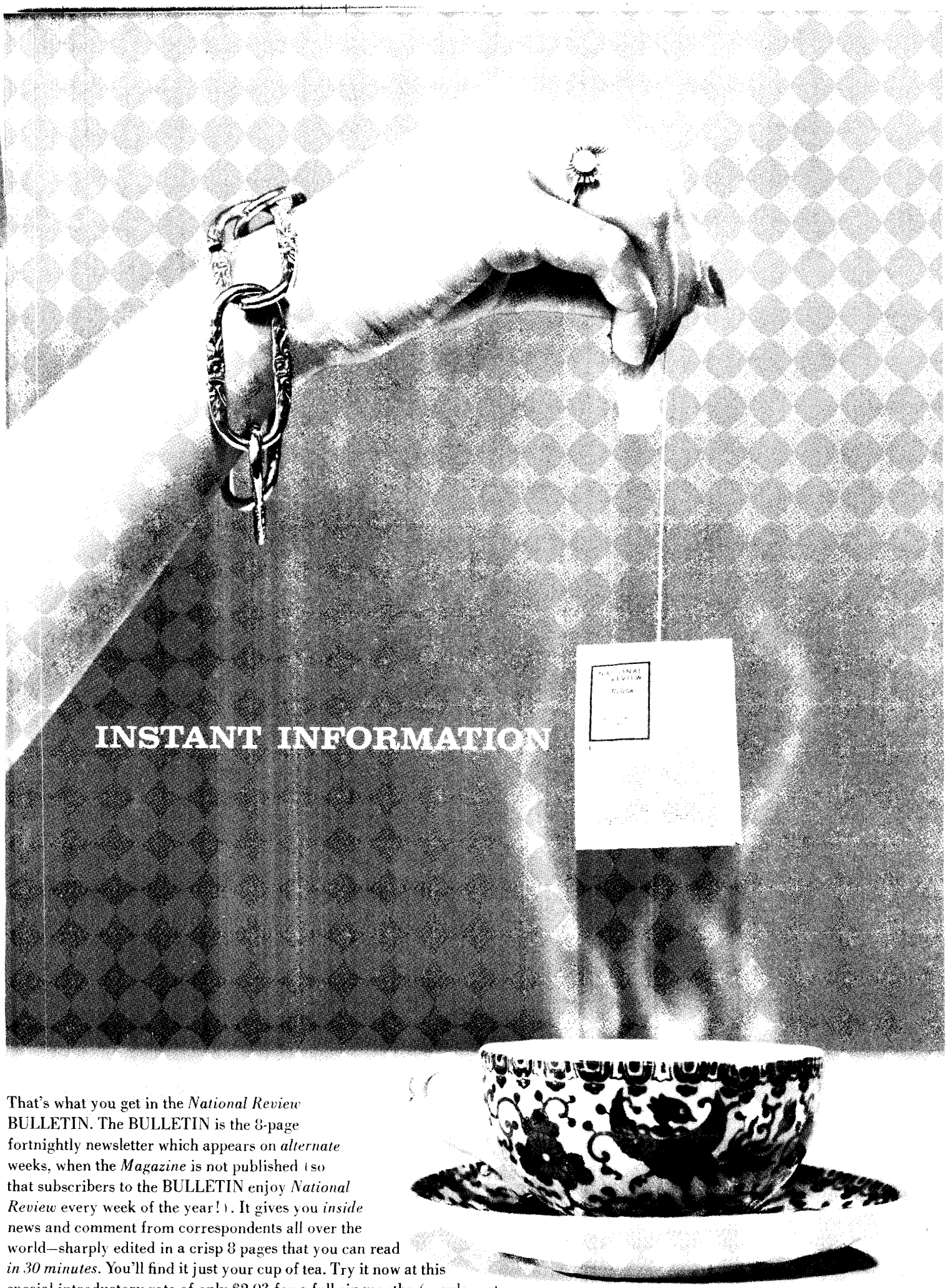

That's what you get in the *National Review* BULLETIN. The BULLETIN is the 8-page fortnightly newsletter which appears on *alternate* weeks, when the *Magazine* is not published (so that subscribers to the BULLETIN enjoy *National Review* every week of the year!). It gives you *inside* news and comment from correspondents all over the world—sharply edited in a crisp 8 pages that you can read *in 30 minutes*. You'll find it just your cup of tea. Try it now at this special introductory rate of only $2.93 for a full six months (regular rate: $7.00 per year, available by subscription only). Fill out and mail the card facing this page today. We'll begin your BULLETIN subscription *immediately*.

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see why it wouldn't work in New York.

There is the touchy point of expertise. I said I had some reservations about Bat Masterson. I think the trouble with him is that he's too good and he knows it. He dresses too well to be honest. He knows too much (some say he speaks French). He carries a trick cane with a pistol in it and sometimes wears trick coats, and everyone knows he's a little bit forward with the Fair Sex. This kind of thing detracts from his moral authority and degrades The Law.

Which brings up Woman. Most of the great men of the Law have girl friends. Lulu works in the Saloon and always looks googly-eyed at Matt Dillon, but it never gets beyond that point. I think Dan Troop has a Lily too, but he's most of the time running away from her. Sex is for softies, guys who go to bed nights instead of pushing a gallant stallion over the range in search of Evil. Also, any man who can love a woman without touching her has something of the Spiritual, something of the Self-Sacrificial, something of the Essence in him, and it is this mystical force that sustains him in his moments of danger back of the livery stable. This aspect of the Law Man is affirmed by his actions toward dirty lowdown gunslingers who don't show the proper chivalrous attitude toward Woman. Nothing so enrages Bat (or Dan) as some saddle tramp messing around with Kitty, and there's no mincing words when the Law meets the Lecher. "Get your cottonpickin' hands off that there Damsel, you dirty lowdown gunslinger," says Wyatt. "Yah, who says?" inquires the slimy lush. He gets a fist in the teeth and goes away wiping the back of his hand on his mouth and promising Eternal Vendetta. But Millicent is safe. I should like to see more of this attitude toward the Fair Sex in the billboards and television commercials. Instead, the United States seems to look at itself as a place where women spend their lives and their money on schemes to get men to hop into the sack with them, and where men use hair tonic that brings the girls on the run, or smoke Manly cigarettes (with similar results, one infers), or drive cars with hideaway beds.

I have not mentioned Wire Paladin, because he's too smart to be a real Folk Hero. He's tough, all right, and he's good and true and loyal and courteous and humble and helpful and he loves his country, but he's just too blankety-blank intellectual. You never did see Paladin sitting up nights watching TV westerns, did you? No, sir. He's sitting up nights watching ballet in San Francisco or studying Chinese with one of his thousands of intimate acquaintances or playing chess with a mandarin. He may even be writing essays on Courage. And you know what the American People think about intellectuals in government.

One very important aspect of Western life is monetary policy. I remember once Jim Somebody, the

Random Notes

● PLAY ACTING: Mickey Spillane is to take the role of Mike Hammer in the movie version of *The Girl Hunters* (both movie and paperback edition will be released in March). *Variety* wonders if this isn't a first of sorts. Maybe so, for our times (even if Brendan Behan beats him to it), but we remember gaudier and more expansive days with such actors as William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, etc. . . . Caedmon Records announces a recording of Dylan Thomas reading from *The Duchess of Malfi* and *King Lear*, a welcome addition to the five Thomases already available. . . . Edward Albee's first Broadway play, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (The title derives from a subway scrawl once reported by *The New Yorker*), on view at the Billy Rose, is a full-scale three hours and better, and Lane Bradbury, Uta Hagen, Arthur Hill and George Grizzard are the entire cast.

● WONDERS: New Directions promises for November publication Ezra Pound's and Noel Stock's *Love Poems of Ancient Egypt* ($1.50), one or two of which have appeared in NATIONAL REVIEW. . . . And Harvest Books (Harcourt, Brace and World) have put into paperback D. D. Paige's *The Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941* ($2.25). The foxy old Confucian, presently mending from a minor operation in Rapallo, is engaged in bringing *The Cantos*, now half a century in composition, to an end. . . . Miss Alice Babette Toklas, whose autobiography was written for her years ago, and whose sole contribution, to date, to the Heroic Age of Cubism has been a cook book of scrumptious recipes, has finally written her own account of the days when Gertrude Stein delivered Picasso the American funnies in her Model T. *What Is Remembered* will be published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston in February at $5.00.

● PRIZES: The Encyclopedia Press announces an annual prize of $10,000 for the best manuscript submitted for publication which makes "the most significant contribution to the advancement of knowledge." As the manuscript must "exceed 25,000 words in length," Descartes' *Discourse on Method* would not have been eligible, nor Louis Agassiz' *Methods of Study*, nor. . . .

● BOOKS: J. M. Synge's *The Aran Islands* is happily in paperback (Vintage, $1.95). . . . The Harvard-Peabody expedition to New Guinea, on which young Michael Rockefeller was lost, is the subject of Peter Matthiessen's *Under the Mountain Wall*, to be published by Viking October 22 ($7.50). Photographs by Eliot Elisofon. . . . The publishing history of Melville's last novel has been one edition after another of brave and subtle attempts to read one of literature's trickiest handwritings. Even the title (*Billy Budd, Foretopman*) changes in Harrison Hayward's and Merton Sealts' "first accurate version," *Billy Budd, Sailor: An Inside Narrative* (Chicago, $1.50). . . . Ann Arbor has brought out in paperback John Aubrey's great collection of biographies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century worthies, eccentrics, and rakehells, *Aubrey's Brief Lives* ($2.25).

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man from Wells Fargo, stumbled into a great gold hoax. Someone brought a solid block of yellow metal into Santa Fe or somewhere out there between Channel 5 and California, and claimed it was gold. He allowed an impartial observer (who was in on the trick) to dig out a chunk of the metal from any place on the block, and of course his confederate chose the only spot where the stuff was solid gold. The rest was lead. The local banker thought it was a good bargain at $200,000 and the currency of the town would have been off the gold standard quicker'n you could say Wells Fargo. But Jim and the Law got wind of the great hoax and chased the rascals into the clink. Everybody in town, including the banker, was happy to be back on a solid gold standard. They didn't want their currency backed up by lead. Which shows they're smarter than some present-day bankers and intellectuals who think a currency backed up by nothing but paper is the real clue to prosperity. I recommend a careful study of the monetary and fiscal policies of Channels 2 through 11.

So, podners, don't laugh at my Western World. Don't let the intellectuals tell you it's a nasty subculture or an atavistic manifestation of the frontier days. These glorious shows, year in, year out, draw the greatest audience in the country, and that's because people would much rather live on the Old Frontier than the New one. And I'll tell you something: if Wyatt Earp or somebody from Arizona or Texas with the glint of the Western mountains in his eye gets up some day in front of a really mammoth-size Town Meeting and offers himself as a candidate on a platform of Running the Rascals Out of Town, sixty million of us Westerners will put him in office. Belly up to the bar, boys; good days are coming.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

BIG SUR, by Jack Kerouac (Farrar, $4.50). This twelfth volume of *The Duluoz Legend,* a cycle of books that began with *On the Road* and "forms one enormous comedy," takes our hero on a binge in and around the Henry Miller latitudes. *Big Sur* is merely a highly personal record of several weeks among some of the elect friends of the author. Some of these are fairly well-drawn characters and Mr. Kerouac succeeds in convincing us that they are interesting people: secret poets, charming garage workers fresh out of stir on a narcotics rap, kids from good families having a holiday from convention, and so on. One wishes that they had been put into a novel and made to do things, such as display their characters in action (one gets tired of being *told* that so-and-so is *echt* Beatnik and really with it, take my word for it, kid), fall in love, die, ride into the sunset, or whatever. The book has to be accepted as memoir-writing and for the curious it has its good points. To fill it up, the publishers have printed a twenty-three-page poem which the author wrote on the same expedition that yielded up the anecdotes of the narrative. The closing lines of the poem are: "Clock—Gomeat sea need / be deep I see you / Enoc'h / soon anarf / in Old Brittany." The other lines of the poem aren't any clearer or less cryptic, and this leads us to wonder if one of the more puzzling hallucinations of *Beatnikismus* isn't the assumption that its private lives and private language are a matter of general interest and universal concern.

G. DAVENPORT

SOUTH WIND RED, by Philip Alexander Ray (Regnery, $5.00). The drumbeaters for the Alliance for Progress are finally finding out that progress is not a synchronization

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Speaking Up • • •

Frank S. Meyer's new book, *In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo*, will be out this fall. It is a definitive statement of the conservative position he has been developing over the years in his column in *National Review*.

Mr. Meyer's lecture audiences have found him "eloquent," "exhilarating," "emphatic," and "profound." He is prepared to debate any topic within his sphere of competence, and to speak on *The Challenge of Conservatism*, *The Reality of Communism—the Illusion of Coexistence*, *The Decay of American Liberalism*, and *Freedom, the Forgotten Goal*.

His midwest friends will find him in Chicago the week of January 7th, in November he is in the South, in the spring in the North and Southwest. Perhaps your University or Club would like to hear him in person. Won't you write?

You may also want to write for openings in the schedules of our other speakers: L. Brent Bozell, Willmoore Kendall, Russell Kirk, Thomas Molnar, William Rickenbacker, William A. Rusher, or Ernest van den Haag.

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of press releases and squandered billions. In the midst of sober reconsiderations by Congress and even by some of the happy spenders in the Administration, a former Under Secretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower Administration has come up with a well-written and solidly presented plan for making the Alliance something more than an extravagant and foredoomed public relations program. It should become an authoritative guide for American business in seeking a solution to the Latin American mess, however much businessmen may disagree with some of the particular suggestions, such as increased joint ownership of enterprises with nationals. But a puzzling and disturbing aspect of the book is the almost complete avoidance of the Cuban problem. Although detailing Communist inroads throughout Latin America in a thorough and graphic fashion, Mr. Ray appears to have no awareness that until Castro is removed there can be no appreciable lessening of the Communist threat south of the border. One suspects that this oversight results from the author's predisposition to believe that today's great struggle is primarily between capitalism and statism, rather than between the West and Sino-Soviet imperialism.

J. B. BENDER

TWO MINUTES TO NOON, by Noel F. Busch (Simon and Schuster, $4.95). This is the story of the 1923 Tokyo earthquake and fire; it is also the first disaster book to possess literary style. A model for such chronicles, it is so logically constructed and compellingly dramatic that most readers will want to finish it at one sitting. This they can do because Mr. Busch has managed to hold the entire gripping and shocking tale to less than 200 pages, a feat of compression that gives his book the impact of an organized work of art. An old Far East hand, Mr. Busch has plenty of sympathy for the victims of the worst natural catastrophe in the world's recorded history and he has an understanding which makes his last paragraph unfold with exquisite kindness and courtesy, as though he has brought out and lovingly set in the proper place a ceremonial Japanese screen.

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To the Editor

Freedom or Virtue (cont.)

Mr. Bozell's article on "Freedom or Virtue" [Sept. 11] was very thought-provoking. He made some very excellent points. I would like to add a few:

1) Traditionally, the freedom we should desire is the freedom to do as we ought. We can thank principally the Liberal pseudo-intellectuals (because of their relativistic approach) for having confused the mass of people about their sense of values and their knowledge of what they ought to do with their freedom. We ought to say that virtue is determined by how one uses or abuses his freedom.

2) The basic freedom of most Liberals is freedom from responsibility; and since this is one freedom the traditional conservative should reject on principle, he should not believe in absolute freedom or that freedom (unqualified) is primary.

3) In a Communist society an attempt is made to load the choice between good and evil on the side of evil; or, at least, to blur the distinction for children so that no rational choice is possible. Certainly, their definition of virtue leads to moral chaos.

4) We find it easy (we are so limited in our choice) to be explicit about entities we consider evil (*e.g.*, Communism, tyranny, etc.). We find it very difficult (perhaps because we have so much freedom of choice) to be explicit about entities we consider virtuous (Americanism, freedom, etc.).

5) Many of my conservative friends don't seem to realize that their point of view is very partisan, that their ideas do not have universal appeal, and that their cause has no particular sacredness or urgency except that created by the danger of the Communist menace. The conservative movement becomes important because the hour is growing late in this Cold War; and the Liberal approach has proven during these many, many years to be inadequate to the challenge of the Communist conspiracy, and so we are losing. It is really quite a practical problem; and there are probably no deep, abiding philosophical standards that can be used to get the correct answers on individual, politico-economic issues in every case. Nevertheless, the conservatives are generally proving themselves right.

Freedom as a goal and as a reward is not enough. The Communists proclaim their goal to be ultimate freedom in a heaven-on-earth where "the state will eventually wither away." But in their scheme of things, virtue (as we know it) is not important. And so we differ. Absolute freedom can be more evil than absolute slavery. Freedom without virtue should be abominable to us. And since we may die in the struggle for freedom and never enjoy freedom in the worldly sense, it is more essential that we be brave and virtuous in life or in death.

Lynwood, Cal. JAMES H. FORD, M.D.

I am very intrigued with the battle between Bozell and Meyer. I never did quite get Bozell's thesis of the difference between freedom and virtue because on the one hand he seemed to argue that virtue did not necessarily presuppose freedom, and yet he said that salvation would be impossible without free will. He seemed to get himself caught up in that Thomistic dilemma that if we have a permanent God-given nature, we cannot therefore vary from it and we are therefore not really free: the doctrine of original sin precludes us from *free* salvation. What was Bozell really attacking? What is "libertarianism?" Meyer did not really clear this up. He merely reiterated that virtue presupposes freedom and that they are therefore inseparable.

Bozell could not really disagree with this as a Christian, because the main stream of the Christian tradition accepts that the highest version of freedom is complete attunement to the will of God. Christ put it, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light."

It is unfair to suggest that Mr. Meyer advocates some sort of anarchy. Nor can I see that the logic of his position leads to any Sartresque world. It seems therefore that neither man asked the right question and both thus failed to isolate the crux

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of a possible rift among conservatives. This is the problem of rejecting Original Sin on the one hand and still holding to conservatism on the other through the doctrine of historicity. In other words, can a sound conservatism be based on both the traditionalist doctrine of a permanent human nature, and on the libertarian doctrine of historicity? This was the question that, while implicit in both articles, should have been analyzed by the debaters. Let us hope that these articles presage regular debate on the philosophical roots of conservatism.

Paris, France W. A. SHEARSON

Hooray for Mr. Bozell! Now we conservatives, so long in ideological disarray, have a Purpose which we can apply in political action.

So what are we waiting for! Let's *plan* for virtue! Why not call together in Washington our most eminent theologians in order to draft a legislative program implementing our Purpose. For those disquieted souls who in the above recognize revisionist and gradualist heresies, another alternative presents itself. Let's establish a new discipline called Theolectics, fusing theology with an appropriate analysis of the social manifestations of the eternal conflict of Good and Evil.

What's that? From whence cometh that dim voice of reaction, pleading for traditional freedoms on the premise that the basic realities of the human condition transcend the political, unwitting dupes of the Malefactors of Great Evil. Ferret them out! Expose them to public ridicule and judicial condemnation! For we now have Purpose, and can no longer tolerate obstructions from the myths of a cultural tradition!

Bloomington, Ind. JOHN D. SHUMAN

Panegyrics to Brent Bozell for his masterpiece, "Freedom or Virtue."

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In the Beginning Was the Word

Alas, it was as "Playboy of the Western Word" that I characterized Mr. William Empson, before your typesetter, learned in Synge, transformed "Word" into "World" [*NR*, August 28]. I should not want any reader to suppose that I was accusing the eminent Ambiguist of gay conduct.

Let me also report that in describing Mr. Empson's mind as "utterly uninformed" I intended my predicate adjective not in the cant sense but in the scholastic. That fascinating mind teems with information but not with *formae*.

Goleta, Cal. HUGH KENNER

The C-H-A-P-M-A-N Report

I just read your issue of Sept. 25 and its article, "Liberal Republicans Look to '64," and frankly, I was dismayed. Your correspondent, "George F. Hobart," has loused up the whole story of the "Liberal" Republican Conspiracy. Not only does he get important facts wrong (about thirty in three pages), he can't even spell (my name is C-H-A-P-M-A-N, not M-A-R-S-H-A-L-L). If Mr. "Hobart" would only tell us when he is going to cover one of our secret plotting sessions, we could advise him of the facts. Regarding *Advance*, for example, I especially wish he hadn't given the *Herald Tribune*'s Jock Whitney credit for being one of our "angels." Actually, Jock is behind on his contributions; indeed we're still waiting for the first penny. (And Mr. "Hobart" completely neglected Harold Stassen, who tithes to us.)

Usually our "Liberal" Republican Conspiracy meetings—held at midnight in the basement of Rockefeller Center—get off to a start when mysterious Sidney Weinberg proposes a resolution against Western Tradition and its Chief Custodian, NATIONAL REVIEW. General Eisenhower and Bill Miller can't always attend, but they do send proxies. Walter Thayer and Roscoe Drummond drop by from time to time, and I bring the congressmen and senators. Sometimes we count 1964 convention delegates, sometimes we sit around and think "Liberal"; mostly, though, we just conspire.

Washington, D.C. BRUCE K. CHAPMAN

Our apologies to Liberal Republican C-H-A-P-M-A-N for misnaming him; the error is not attributable to Mr. Hobart, having occurred in this office. As for Jock Whitney, NATIONAL REVIEW*'s informant insists that Mr. C-H-A-P-M-A-N bragged about Whitney's support; perhaps, as Mr. C-H-A-P-M-A-N adroitly contrives to say, it has merely not yet arrived.* —ED.

Another Federal Aid Program

Perhaps it may be suggested that just in case Teddy Kennedy is elected to the Senate in November, one of his old friends who "helped" him at Harvard may take the oath of office for him.

Los Angeles, Cal. JAY SALBY

Oaths have no real place in a society enlightened enough to remove God from schools. By January, Earl Warren may have abolished them. —ED.

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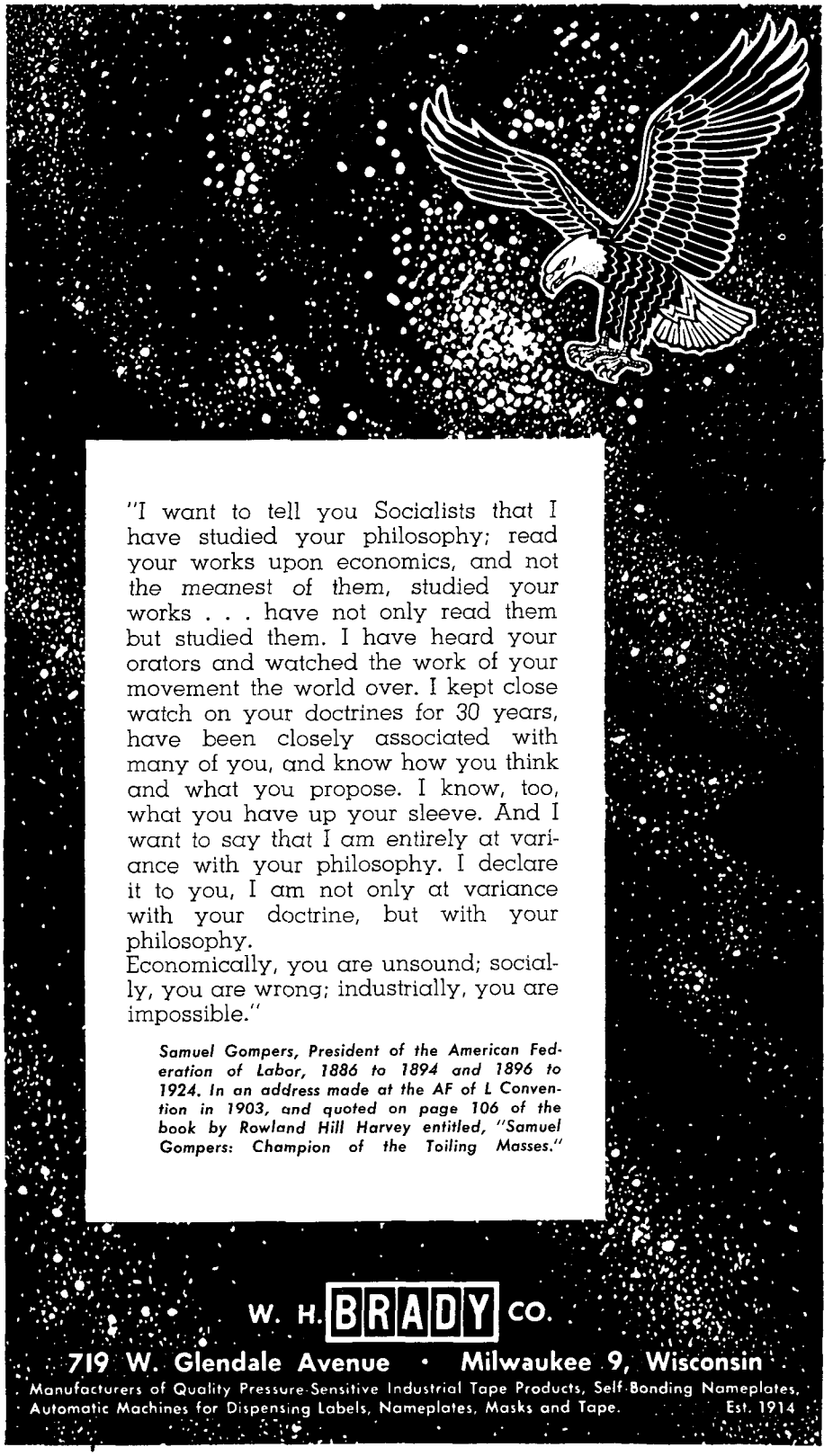
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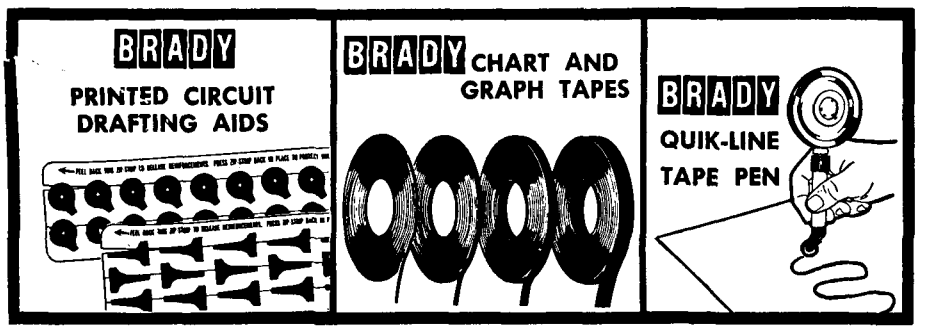

REFLECTIONS ON ENVY

(Continued from p. 314)

prefer to be Jewish, say, in America than England). Indeed, the aesthetic revulsion is often sharper than the turgid absolutes of the French geology student. And just how provincial it can be was categorized recently by Angus Wilson in the *Sunday Times*:

> But anti-Americanism is quite another thing; it is an impotent envy which does nothing but disgrace the speaker. Listen to any county Englishman or his wife who in dislike of the changed English social order seeks refuge in anti-American talk; hear the silly bray of their laugh, the frightened note that underlies their jokes about American brashness or crudity. Or, almost worse, hear a group of rich, beleaguered French or Italian or Spanish describing the necessity for a civilized Europe where American barbarism cannot interfere. There are few more nauseating sounds in the modern world; nauseating because like all envious sounds they make one feel ashamed for the emotions that the speaker is betraying.

RELIGION

(Continued from p. 315)

doctrination, building churches, supporting seminary study, etc.—put in the abstract, most Americans would be shocked and outraged; confront the same people with the concrete cases, however, and they are hardly aware that anything relating to the separation of Church and State is involved. What is right and proper and what is going "too far" depend largely on how public opinion sees the case in the context of time, place, and circumstance. And until the unfortunate *Engel* decision this year, public opinion in this area was pretty well articulated, in all its apparent inconsistency, by the series of great Supreme Court decisions beginning with the *Oregon* case a generation ago and continuing through the *Zorach* case in 1952. The *Engel* decision, too, I am convinced, will be absorbed in this continuing tradition, and thereby be very considerably mitigated in its radical implications. Not the occasional vagaries of the Supreme Court, but the powerful grain of our constitutional history will prove decisive in the long run. It would be well for Mr. Vidal, and for all of us, to become better acquainted with it.

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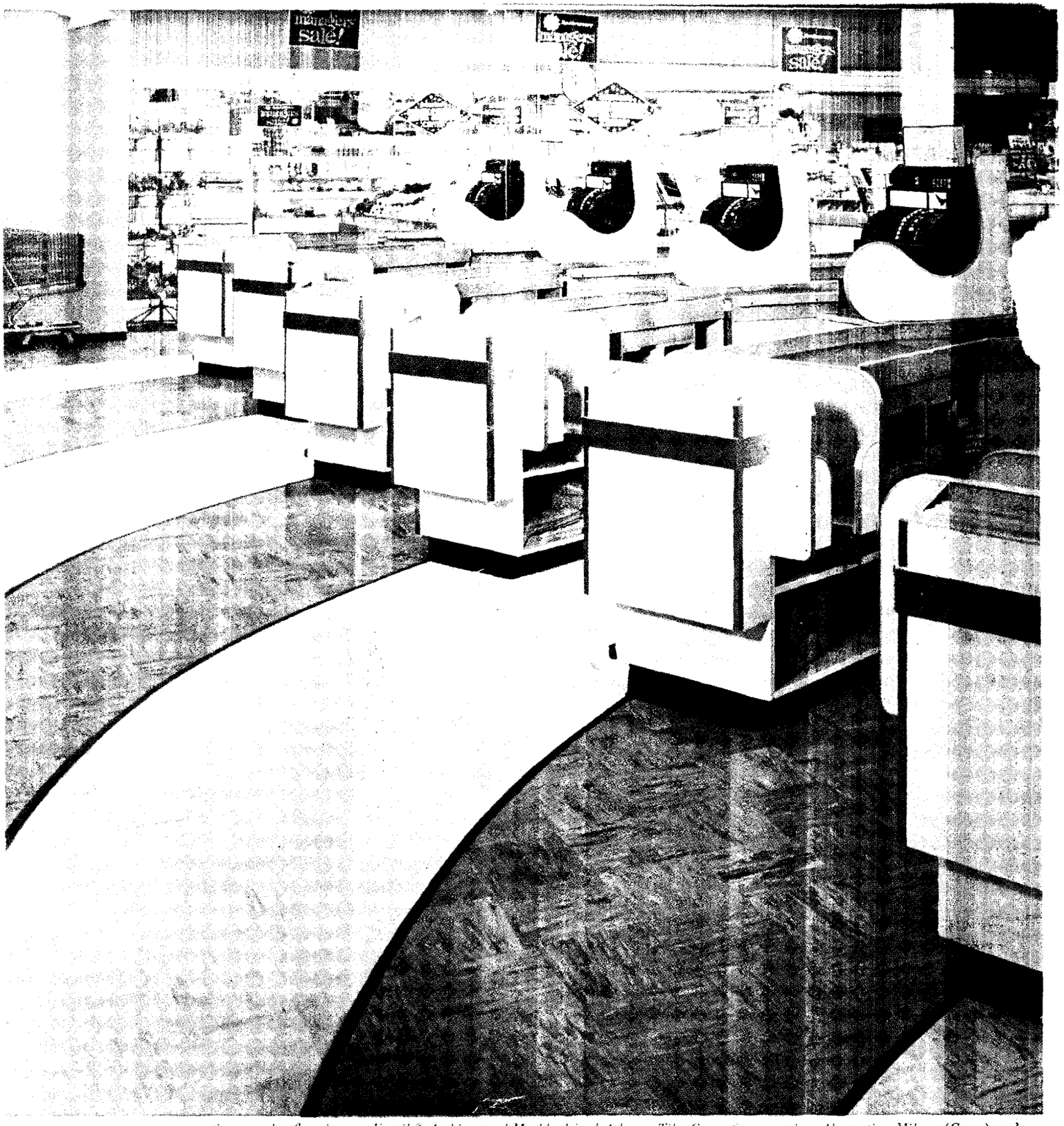

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